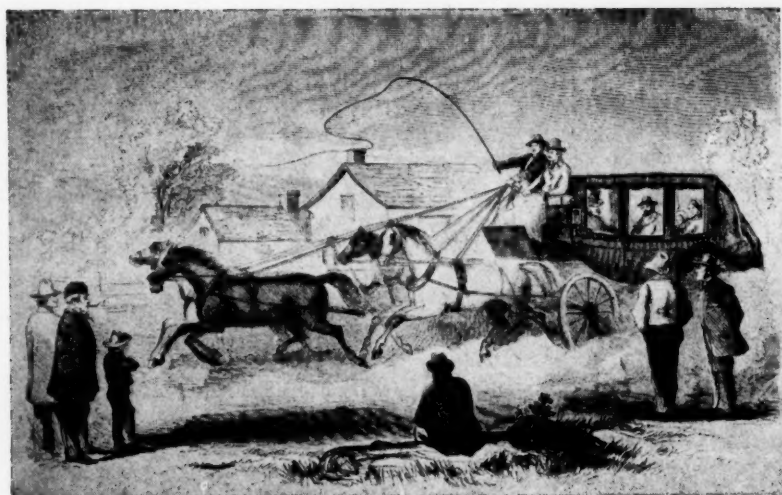


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Floyd C. Shoemaker, Editor

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FARM MACHINERY IN ANTE-BELLUM MISSOURI

BY GEORGE F. LEMMER¹

Farm machinery was of extraordinary value to the western farmer during the period when he was changing from a self-sufficient stage of agriculture to commercial farming. Land was plentiful and cheap, but labor was scarce and very dear. Since the kind of farming that paid in the West resulted in exploitation of the soil, farmers were more interested in labor-saving machines than in advice on soil conservation.² The common practice of soil exhaustion in the West is well illustrated by the following description of Missouri farming in 1849:

Farming here is conducted on the regular skinning system . . . There seems to be a continual struggle with each farmer to have longer strings of fence, bigger fields, and more ground in corn than his neighbor. The result of which struggle, in conjunction with the ease with which land is brought into cultivation in the prairie, convenient to timber, is that most of the farmers in this country *scratch* over a great deal of ground, but *cultivate* none. Instead, however, of endeavoring to extricate themselves from their difficulties in the most reasonable way possible, that of ceasing to enlarge their farms and growing grass seed until they are reduced to a manageable size, the cry is still more land, more corn. It is corn, corn, corn, nothing but corn. . . . Take the state over and I have no idea that one farmer out of fifty has ever hauled a load of manure to his corn fields since he has been in the state. I have doubts, even, whether one in a hundred has ever done it. . . . Some, however, have the foresight and sagacity to avoid all this by building their stables, barns, etc., over or contiguous to a ravine, by which they are drained, so that each shower abates the nuisance, and the lucky farmer is not troubled with muddy lots and rotting barns.³

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²Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925), p. 273.

³*Ibid.*, p. 272.

This might look like poor farming to the Easterner and to the European whose soil was becoming depleted, but to the Westerner it was an economic necessity. "All hail the inventor," wrote one Western enthusiast, "they do more benefit to their fellow men than a thousand theorizers on guano."⁴ Especially in raising small grain did labor-saving machinery constitute a boon, for the farmer could always sow more than he could harvest. Year after year he watched much of his crop rot in the field either because labor was not available or because of a short harvest season.

An illustration of the amount of labor saved by using harvesting machinery was afforded by the trials held under the auspices of the New York Agricultural Society at Geneva in 1852. The committee in charge asserted that the cradling and binding of a field of fifteen acres of wheat in one day would require fourteen or more men. The reaper, on the other hand, if it did good work would require "two men to control it and needs seven, or at most eight men to rake and bind the grain and shock the whole in the same day," a total of nine men to do the work in one day. The saving of labor in harvesting wheat by the use of the reaper would be five men out of fourteen. In addition, the reapers saved grain; by enabling the farmer to harvest his wheat within a short time after the grain ripened, much loss from shattering was prevented.⁵

At the International Exposition at Paris in 1855, Pitt's American Thresher demonstrated its superiority over men with flails, as well as over French and English machines, by threshing 17.02 bushels of wheat in one hour. Six men with flails at the same time threshed only .83 bushels, the French machine threshed 5.75 bushels, and the English machine, 9.43 bushels.⁶ No western farmer, certainly, could long remain indifferent to such significant savings of labor.

Missouri agriculture was largely in the self-sufficient stage in 1830, but during the next thirty years moved slowly in the direction of commercial farming. In 1840 the per capita

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 292-294.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 292.

production of home manufactures was approximately \$3.00; in 1850, \$2.45; and by 1860 had dropped to \$1.66.⁷ This gradual decline indicates that more consumptive goods were being bought on the market and less produced at home, a decline which accompanies the movement toward commercial agriculture. Missouri ranked relatively low in the value of implements and machinery per acre of farm land, with an average of forty cents per acre in 1850 and forty-four cents per acre in 1860. The average for the United States as a whole reached fifty-two cents in 1850 and sixty cents in 1860.⁸ These figures show that Missouri farms were far from being mechanized by the latter date, but the relative slow rate of increase per acre can be partially explained by noting that the number of acres in farm land nearly doubled between 1850 and 1860.⁹

There are two more significant factors which help explain Missouri's apparent slowness in adopting large numbers of labor-saving implements. First, Missouri was farther from the centers where the machinery was manufactured than were most of the western states of that period (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin). The lack of transportation facilities prior to the Civil War always proved to be one of the most stubborn obstacles in the way of selling improved machinery any appreciable distance from the point of manufacture. Second, and probably even more important, was the fact that Missouri never specialized as heavily in the small grains, especially wheat, as did the states to the northeast of her. Missouri's chief cash crops were tobacco, hemp, and livestock, which were produced largely without the aid of new implements. Wheat farming, which required more labor-saving machinery, had

⁷*Compendium of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (Washington: Superintendent of the U. S. Census, 1843) pp. 309, 355; *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington: Superintendent of the U. S. Census, 1853) pp. 655, 682; *Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 95, 222.

⁸Walter W. Jennings, *A History of Economic Progress in the United States* (Cincinnati, Ohio: South-Western Publishing Company, 1926), p. 236.

⁹*Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior*, p. 222.

concentrated more heavily in the prairie regions of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Iowa.¹⁰

Although Missouri apparently lagged behind a few of the western states in the adoption of improved farm implements, much machinery appeared in the state before the Civil War. As long as wheat and other small grains had to be cut with a cradle and threshed with a flail, or hay cut with a scythe, a farmer could seldom produce more than enough for home use. Neither could the fertile but tough prairies be successfully broken without a steel plow. Commercial farming could not develop without efficient machinery.

Most of the evidence that farmers were being urged to buy, and were buying, improved implements appeared in the newspapers and farm journals of the period. The *Missouri Statesman* reprinted in 1854 and 1855 articles from other newspapers which are typical of those which urged farmers to adopt better machinery. The first called on farmers to use machinery to make their vocation pleasant, respectable, and profitable. The author contended that every time a farmer could make a horse do work that would otherwise be done by hand, he saved time and money—to be successful he had to employ machinery.¹¹ The second attempted to demonstrate that it was much easier and more economical to cut hay and grass with a mower than with a scythe; at the prevailing cost of labor, the writer believed, a mower would pay for itself in forty days of cutting.¹²

Although cast-iron and steel plows were adopted gradually and aroused little excitement, there is no doubt that they were the first improved implements to be used extensively by Missouri farmers. Before 1850 a large per cent of them were made by local blacksmiths. In 1844 George W. Kimbrough bought the exclusive right to manufacture and sell the "Cromwell Plough" in Boone and Callaway counties.¹³ The different brands of plows seem almost as numerous as the plows them-

¹⁰Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, pp. 321-323; William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935), I, 223-249.

¹¹*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), November 17, 1854.

¹²*Ibid.*, August 24, 1855.

¹³*Ibid.*, March 28, 1845.

selves—there were “Cromwell” plows, “Carey” plows, “Jewett” plows, and “Dudley or Diamond” plows, in addition to other brands too numerous to mention. As these implements were continually being changed and improved, it would be impossible, even if space permitted, to describe the different brands.

By 1854 or 1855, most of the plows were being manufactured in the larger cities and shipped up the river from St. Louis. A typical advertisement might read, “fifty Jewett’s Patent Ploughs just received per steamer *Amelia* and for sale, by Wilson and Brown.”¹⁴ This tendency coincides with the general trend the country over. By the late forties plow-making had begun to leave the hands of the local blacksmith and was becoming a factory industry. Another transformation in plow-making became significant about the same time—the adoption of steel plows. The cast-iron plow did not give satisfaction because its failure to scour in the tough prairie and bottom land of the West made it pull too heavily. John Deere had made his first steel plow from a saw blade in 1837, and within a few years his plows had become celebrated in all the Rock River locality of Illinois and for a considerable distance up and down the Mississippi. Steel plows were introduced into Kentucky in 1845 and by 1850 had become widely used in the prairie regions.¹⁵ After the latter date most of the plows sold in Missouri were of this newer type.

Some farm machines found their way into Missouri fifteen or twenty years before they came into general use. In 1837 some of the newspapers reported that three men in St. Louis had bought the right to manufacture and sell Pitt’s Threshers and Grist Mills in Missouri. Peter Lindell near St. Louis certified that he had his grain threshed by Pitt’s Thresher in 1836 and found it very efficient.¹⁶ That Pitt’s Threshers were being made and sold in Missouri this early is quite surprising,

¹⁴*Boonville Observer*, April 29, 1847.

¹⁵Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, p. 283.

¹⁶*Jeffersonian Republican* (Jefferson City), March 4, 1837.

for Pitt did not develop the machine until 1834 and sold very few before 1840.¹⁷

This thresher, as conceived by H. A. Pitt, of Winthrop, Maine, was probably the first successful machine which combined the earlier "ground hog" thresher and the fanning mill. The earlier models (ground hogs), consisting of a spiked cylinder inclosed in a case and mounted on a wooden frame, did not separate the grain from the chaff, so the winnowing was done later in a fan-mill turned by hand. "The Pitt machine of 1840 weighed about seven hundred pounds, measured about eight by two feet four inches, and was driven by six or eight horses on a sweep. It threshed from twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat an hour. Four hands were required to tend the machine—one to forward the bundles, one to feed, one to measure and put the grain into bags, and one to pitch away the straw. Since it could easily be moved from place to place, it was used in the field as well as under shelter."¹⁸

Perhaps the machine which threshed Peter Lindell's grain in 1836 was one of Pitt's early experimental models—possibly the only one in the state at that time. This thresher advertisement ran in the *Jeffersonian Republican* for five months, but few notices of its nature appeared again until the early fifties.

In May, 1845, Henry Bear, eight miles south of Boonville, announced that he would manufacture for the adjoining counties "McCormick Reapers." He guaranteed the machines to cut fifteen acres of grain per day, and priced them at \$100 each, or \$106 on four months' time.¹⁹ During the winter of 1843-1844, Cyrus McCormick had designed one of his reapers for exhibition and sale in Cooper County, Missouri, and Henry Bear in the autumn of 1844 agreed to pay McCormick \$20 for each of about thirty machines he planned to make and sell for the harvest of 1845.²⁰ Bear made and sold twenty that season, but only four of them performed well. This looks like

¹⁷Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, p. 298.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 298-299.

¹⁹*Boonville Observer*, May 6, 1845.

²⁰Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, I, 200-213.

a rather poor showing, but the total western output of McCormick Reapers in 1845 probably did not exceed seventy-five.²¹ Although Bear's advertisement ran eight weeks in the *Boonville Observer*, no indication is given there of his ultimate success as a reaper manufacturer. In spite of his rather poor showing in 1845, he was permitted for a while to manufacture at will and pay McCormick \$20 for each machine sold.²² Advertisements of McCormick Reapers do not appear again in the Missouri newspapers examined until after 1850, when they were manufactured in the Chicago factory.

Some more simple machines were advertised quite frequently in the newspapers before the general interest in machinery developed after 1850. In 1848 the editor of the *Missouri Statesman* claimed that wagons manufactured in Columbia were the best in the state; the Santa Fe traders found that they stood up better than any used.²³ An advertisement two years later stated that W. H. Hawkins had just opened an establishment in Columbia for the manufacture of "Burr's Superior Wheat Fans." As with all advertising, they were described as the best in the region.²⁴

With the opening of better markets, the progress of industry, and better prices for farm products, interest in agricultural improvement picked up briskly after 1850, and with it came an appreciable increase in the use of farm machinery. In 1852 the editor of the *Valley Farmer*, Missouri's outstanding farm journal, tried to interest farmers in "Wheeler's Railway Chain Horse Power and Overshot Threshers, Separators, and Winnowers." Prospective buyers were referred to David B. Cunningham of Boone County who had one of the machines in use at his farm.²⁵ The next year, discussions of a corn and cob crusher which had been demonstrated at the last Boone County fair appeared. The patent was owned by J. T. M. Johnson, of Boone County, and William F. Switzler, editor of

²¹*Ibid.*, I, 220-222.

²²*Ibid.*, I, 304.

²³*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), November 10, 1848.

²⁴*Ibid.*, November 2, 1850.

²⁵*Ibid.*, June 11, 1852.

the *Statesman*, frequently recommended the machine to stockmen.²⁶

The first extensive advertisement of farm machinery was conducted by the Great Western Agricultural Warehouse and Seed Store, owned by Alfred Lee and Company, of St. Louis. Several kinds of steel plows, seed sowers and drills, common or A harrows and the new reversable type, common and improved cultivators, horse hay rakes, McCormick's Reaping and Mowing Machine, Emery's Patent Horse Power Thresher, fan mills, and corn shellers were advertised.²⁷ This advertisement ran one year from March 25, 1854. The next year William M. Plant and Company, of St. Louis, carried on an extensive advertising campaign in the various newspapers over the state for improved farm machinery. This company publicized Ketchum's Improved Mowers, Reads Improved Reaper and Mower, Atkins Self-Raking Reaper, the New York Self-Raking Reaper, Emery's Two-Horse Powers with thresher and separator attached, and lever hay presses. According to the advertisement, the company intended to have about 612 harvesting machines, priced from \$130 to \$225 each, on hand for 1855.²⁸ About the most highly advertised threshers in the state were Cox and Roberts' Patent Threshers, sold by Kingslands and Ferguson, of St. Louis.²⁹

After 1854, all of the newspapers examined carried extensive advertisements of the above nature continuously, except perhaps for a short time during the fall and early winter. In 1856 an advertisement of the Randall and Jones Hand Corn Planter appeared.³⁰ The Randall and Jones, one of the most popular of the early two-row planters which would plant in check rows, did not appear on the market anywhere in the United States until the fifties.³¹

In most communities, there were local agents for the various kinds of machinery. In Boonville, Brewster and Hillard were agents for McCormick's Reaping and Mowing Machines,

²⁶*Ibid.*, October 7, 1853.

²⁷*Boonville Observer*, May 13, 1854.

²⁸*Liberty Tribune*, March 2, 1855.

²⁹*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), February 2, 1855 ff.

³⁰*Ibid.*, February 22, 1856.

³¹Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, p. 301.

and its successor, Alexander, Houx and Company, was agent for Scott's Little Giant Corn and Cob Crusher, McCormick's Reaper and Mower, and Cox and Roberts' Threshers.³² L. E. and J. S. Dorsey sold Atkins', Budd's, and Ketchum's reapers and mowers, Manny's Reaper and Mower, and Pennock's Patent Wheat Drill in Columbia, and John W. Harris acted as agent for McCormick's Reaper and Mower, and Atkin's Self-Raking Reaper and Mower in Rocheport.³³ In Liberty, Finlay L. Hubbell sold Atkin's Reaper in 1857; after 1858, J. A. Griffith acted as agent in that district for the large warehouses in St. Louis.³⁴ J. P. Horner, at Sturgeon, acted as agent for the McCormick Reaper in 1859 and kept a sample in his store for exhibition.³⁵



The Cox and Roberts patent thresher and cleaner was advertised in the 1860 issues of *The Valley Farmer*, edited by Norman J. Colman and H. P. Byram and published in St. Louis, Missouri, and Louisville, Kentucky. The machine was given first premium at the fairs of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association in 1858 and 1859. The machine could be purchased with lever cabins for two, four, six, or eight horses, of which the first three could be purchased with or without wheels. The machines were manufactured and sold by Kingslands and Ferguson, Second and Cherry streets, in St. Louis.

³²*Boonville Observer*, May 12, 1855; September 27, 1856.

³³*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 16, June 13, 1856.

³⁴*Liberty Tribune*, February 27, 1857; February 12, 1858 ff.

³⁵*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 13, 1859. This four-horse machine sold for \$155, of which \$55 was to be paid in cash and \$100 payable the first of December following; the two-horse machines sold for \$140, sold in the same manner, with a \$50 cash down payment.

The reader must keep in mind that these agents changed frequently and that most of them were storekeepers in their local communities; they did not sell farm machinery as a sole occupation. Most of the larger implement companies, however, had agents who supervised the marketing of their machines throughout certain large and specified areas. J. B. McCormick, of Woodford County, Kentucky, Cyrus McCormick's cousin, was agent for McCormick Reapers in Missouri and the neighboring area from 1845 until 1859. During the latter year he was restricted to Missouri and became associated with one Baker at St. Louis. From here, he forwarded on to local agents, or customers, many McCormick Reapers bound down the Mississippi.³⁶

It is both interesting and revealing to note the attitude of fair managers toward the new machinery. At the St. Louis fair of 1857, Dr. William Provines, of Columbia, exhibited a grading and ditching machine which he had invented, and, although no premium had originally been offered for such a device, he was given a silver medal.³⁷ Labor-saving machinery was so highly valued by both the agricultural leaders and the general farmers that mechanical exhibits were strongly encouraged. In 1860 the *St. Louis Democrat* reported that it had become necessary to enlarge the machinery and mechanical buildings at the St. Louis fair grounds.³⁸

A difference should be noted here between the condition existing at the St. Louis exhibition and at the inland fairs. By 1855, most of the fair managers in central and western Missouri complained that entries of agricultural implements and mechanical articles were insufficient. A writer, in describing the State Fair of 1854 at Boonville, said that the display of agricultural implements was very poor. Manny's Reaper and Mower and Hardiman's Hempbrake were the only articles deserving much attention.³⁹ The most logical

³⁶Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, I, 351-353.

³⁷*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), October 9, 1857.

³⁸*Liberty Tribune*, August 24, 1860.

³⁹*Boonville Observer*, October 7, 1854; *Liberty Tribune*, October 15, 1858.

explanation of this difference seems to be that, after 1854, manufacturers no longer needed to exhibit their machines at the local fairs to get them introduced. Before 1850, the majority of farm machines had been manufactured by local blacksmiths who exhibited at the fairs in order to acquaint the farmers with them. By the middle and late fifties, however, most machinery was manufactured in the larger cities and shipped to buyers or agents on order. It evidently was less profitable to take machinery to the numerous small fairs than to concentrate on large exhibitions similar to that of St. Louis. There the agents could do a great deal of advertising with little expense.⁴⁰ It was also true that many local agents exhibited machines at their stores from early spring until about the middle of August, and the manufacturers saw no need of showing them at the smaller fairs.

Some implement dealers and manufacturers felt that too much chance was involved to risk having the merits of their machines judged at fairs or entered in contests which were often held under the auspices of agricultural societies. Most of the contests were necessarily of such short duration that mere fortune often determined the result, and some judges were none too well qualified to recognize the best machine. Because he felt that judges were often incompetent or unfair, Cyrus McCormick, the well-known reaper manufacturer, tended more and more to shun fairs unless the occasion was unusual and the prospect of advantage most favorable.⁴¹ Nevertheless, all implement makers advertised widely the medals they won at fairs, and no one was more proud of medals than McCormick of those he won at London and Paris.⁴²

Any accurate estimate of the amount of machinery purchased by Missouri farmers during the period under discussion would be impossible. That machinery was widely advertised does not necessarily mean that it was widely used. As before stated, computations from the census figures show that the value of farm implements per acre of farm land did not increase greatly between 1850 and 1860. No true picture

⁴⁰*Boonville Observer*, October 11, 1856.

⁴¹Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, I, 348.

⁴²*Ibid.*, I, 391-405.

can be drawn from these figures, however, unless we keep in mind that over 10,000,000 acres of new land came into use during those ten years. The absolute gain far exceeded the per-acre gain.

In advertising their implements, agents often referred prospective buyers to men who were using the machines in their particular localities. Farmers in the vicinity of Columbia were asked to see W. W. Stone, of Boone County, or W. H. Elgin, of Howard, who were both using Pennock's Wheat Drill.⁴³ Finlay L. Hubbell, agent for Atkin's Self-Raking Reaper at Liberty, published the names of four or five men in Clay County who had used the reaper during the last harvest season.⁴⁴

Manny's Reaper and Mowing Machine seems to have been the most widely used machine of its type, and was evidently sub-manufactured by blacksmiths in Ashley, Pike County, as late as 1857.⁴⁵ This implement was developed and manufactured by John H. Manny, of Waddam's Grove, Stephenson County, Illinois, who became McCormick's chief competitor in the West. He sold almost one thousand reapers in 1854 and more than double that number in 1855.⁴⁶ In 1855 and in 1857 Manny manufactured more machines than did McCormick, whose name has been for so long almost synonymous with reaper manufacturing.⁴⁷

Manny's reaper and mower operated on the same principle as did the majority of popular reapers being used in the West during the last decade preceding the Civil War. By 1850, more than sixteen types of reapers were being made and used in the western states, and the main problem facing farmers was that of obtaining the best implement. One writer described them as follows:

I would say these machines are worked by horse, some times two being used, but more generally four. Some of the machines require the horse to go by the side of the standing grain, while the machine works on one side. The cutting apparatus of others is directly in front of the horses.

⁴³*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 16, 1856.

⁴⁴*Liberty Tribune*, February 20, 1857.

⁴⁵*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), April 10, 1857.

⁴⁶Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, I, 431.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, I, 448 (footnote).

Some drop the grain directly behind, which must be bound before the machine comes round again, while others drop it at one side, and the whole field may be cut before any of it is removed. Some require a man to rake the grain from them; others are constructed for self-raking, and one has been brought into the field the past season that does its own binding.⁴⁸

Manny's machine was pulled by two or four horses and still required hand raking as late as 1860, the raker's seat being attached to the rear of the grain platform. Like most of the early reapers, it could be converted into a mower by removing the reel and platform. At the Geneva, New York, trial in 1852, the Manny machine in competition with eleven others won the first premium as a mower and the second premium as a reaper.⁴⁹

In 1859, Dorsey and Carter, of Columbia, reported their sales for 1858 and up to May 1, 1859. Sixteen farmers had purchased Manny Reapers in 1858 and two in 1859.⁵⁰ The first prize for efficient farm machinery at the Clay County fair in 1860 went to Manny's Reaper.⁵¹

By the close of the ante-bellum period, many types of farm implements had become popular in Missouri and apparently were quite widely used. The most numerous, certainly, were the less expensive and most necessary, such as steel plows, common and improved harrows, cultivators, and various types of seed sowers. Hay rakes, threshers, and reapers were less common because of their cost, but they seem to have been not uncommon. Especially after 1855 reapers and mowers became popular. There were approximately 125,000 of them being used in the United States in 1861, and as they were most popular in the West, Missouri, though not predominately a wheat-raising state, probably received a large number.⁵² The numerous agents and the intensive advertising campaigns carried on by the implement manufacturers

⁴⁸Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, p. 290.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 289; Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, I, 431; *Valley Farmer* XII, No. 5 (May, 1860), 139; No. 7 (July, 1860), 209.

⁵⁰*Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), May 13, 1859.

⁵¹*Liberty Tribune*, October 12, 1860.

⁵²Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, II, 64, 67.

during the last six years before the Civil War indicate that sales were not too discouraging.

However, even though improved farm machines had become quite popular and widely used by 1861, it would be a mistake to assume that they had completely displaced hand tools. As late as 1860, premiums were still being offered at most county fairs for the best hemp hooks and cradles.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OVERLAND MAIL, 1857-1861

BY VIRGINIA L. REBBING¹

During the decade following the admission of California into the Union, various overland mail routes came into existence in an attempt to establish some rapid and dependable means of communication between the new state and the eastern part of the United States. Of these routes spanning the Trans-Mississippi West the most important was the Southern Overland Mail. In operation from September, 1858, to April, 1861, on a semi-weekly schedule, it replaced the semi-monthly ocean service established in 1849.² The history of the Southern Overland Mail has been discussed in a number of books and articles,³ but an examination of contemporary documents and newspapers has revealed additional information on such subjects as the popular agitation for its establishment; the reaction of Missouri newspapers towards the selection of a southern route and the attempt to change it to the central route; the awarding of the contract; the exploring expeditions to determine the exact location of the line; the advertising of the schedule; the celebrations along the route as the first

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²*Daily Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), March 26, 1861.

³Among others are the following: Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869; A Study of the Relations of a Frontier Community with the Federal Government* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1927); Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869, Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926); Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, Kansas: published by the authors, 1901); Grant Foreman, "The California Mail Route Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), 300-317; Curtis Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue During the Fifties," *Missouri Historical Review*, XVIII, No. 4 (July, 1924), 521-534; Rupert N. Richardson, "Some Details of the Southern Overland Mail," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, No. 1 (July, 1925), 1-18; Monas N. Squires, "The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXVI, No. 4 (July, 1932), 331-341.

coaches made their way between the Mississippi River and the Pacific coast; traffic on the line; Indian depredations and the attempts to secure military protection against them; and, finally, with the outbreak of the Civil War, the transfer of the service from the southern to the central route.

A desire to improve communications between the Pacific coast and the rest of the United States existed in both California and Missouri. The Missouri and California Overland Mail and Transportation Company, incorporated by the Missouri legislature in February, 1855,⁴ sent a memorial to Congress asking for a grant of land in order to establish a stagecoach line from western Missouri to San Francisco⁵ and appointed a committee in February, 1856, to gain public support in California, Utah, and Oregon, but to no avail, as Congress did not grant any of its requests.⁶

In the meanwhile, Californians, evincing an intense interest in the project, held wagon road conventions in Sacramento, San Francisco, and other places in 1854 and two public meetings in San Francisco in 1856.⁷ Resolutions adopted at one of the latter requested the federal government to construct an immigrant road from Missouri to California, and extended the best wishes of the people of California to the Missouri and California Overland Mail and Transportation Company.⁸

Although various bills were proposed in Congress in the years 1855 and 1856 for the establishment of a California overland mail, no bill incorporating these provisions was passed until March 3, 1857. Then, with the passage of this post office appropriation bill, the postmaster-general was authorized to advertise for bids and to contract for mail service from some point on the Mississippi River to California. The contract was to run for six years, at a cost not to exceed

⁴*Laws of the State of Missouri, Passed at the First Session of the Eighteenth General Assembly, Begun and Held at the City of Jefferson on Monday, the 25th Day of December, 1854* (Jefferson City, Missouri: James Lusk, Public Printer, 1855), pp. 256-260.

⁵*Daily Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), February 7, 1856.

⁶*Ibid.*; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 13, 1856.

⁷Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869*, p. 153; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 5, 1856.

⁸*Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 6, 1856.

\$300,000 per year for semi-monthly service, \$450,000 for weekly, or \$600,000 for semi-weekly service.⁹

Nine bids were received by Postmaster-General Aaron V. Brown, but none of them provided for the use of the southern route which was selected.¹⁰ By April, 1857, rumors to the effect that Brown was going to select a southern route had spread because he had consulted southern leaders, and thereupon the leading express companies, western railroads, and Californians protested against it.¹¹ Despite the protests, Brown, a sympathetic southerner from Memphis, Tennessee, selected the following southern route:

From St. Louis, Missouri, and from Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas; thence, via Preston, Texas, or as nearly so as may be found advisable, to the best point of crossing the Rio Grande, above El Paso, and not far from Fort Fillmore; thence, along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, California, thence, through the best passes and along the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging, to San Francisco.¹²

Contemporary newspapers expressed varying opinions of Brown's decision. Since St. Louis was to be one of the eastern termini of the route, it is interesting to note the reaction of the St. Louis newspapers on the subject. The *Daily Missouri Democrat*, favoring a central route, declared that the southern, branching to Memphis, was sandy, deficient in water and timber, and longer than the former. Although the *Democrat* claimed that Missouri congressmen, favoring a southern route, were responsible for its selection, at least Senator James S. Green, Representative John S. Phelps, and others were not in Washington when southern congressmen were exerting their influence in favor of a southern route.¹³ On July 2 the newspaper published excerpts from others in St. Louis which,

⁹*The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America from December 3, 1855, to March 3, 1859, and Proclamations Since 1791*, edited by George Minot (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1855), XI, 190.

¹⁰*Weekly St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 7, 1857.

¹¹*Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 29, 1857; *Daily Missouri Republican*, June 6, 9, 1857.

¹²*House Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, No. 2, Part III, p. 988.

¹³*Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 26, July 2, 1857.

it claimed, had sold the state to the South. The *Republican* was saying: "This [southern Texas] Road possesses advantages over any other route and must be the first to reach the Pacific!"¹⁴ and the *Leader*: "It may also be doubted, for all practicable purposes, whether the Texas and Gila route is not the only one!"¹⁵ On July 2 the *Leader* stated its and the Missouri nullifiers' opposition to the central route, claiming that the choice of the southern route would be best for St. Louis interests because the mail route would mark that for a future railroad. A more northern route would probably have been north of the Missouri River, through Iowa, and would have enriched Chicago or some other northern city, since New York capital and influence would have tried to deflect the road northward. According to this newspaper, Senator Trusten Polk, more than anyone else, had aided in making St. Louis the eastern terminus of the route. Polk had corresponded with the federal government, urging the city's claims, and also had gone to Washington to see the president and the Post Office Department about the matter.¹⁶ A pamphlet, favoring the selection of St. Louis as the eastern terminus of a southwestern route and probably written by Senator Polk, entitled, "A Few Thoughts on the Location of the Overland Mail," was submitted to Postmaster General Brown.¹⁷

Nevertheless, special dispatches from Washington to the *New York Tribune* of July 11 stated that Senator Polk had protested against the selection of the southern route, and, in fact, had censured it severely. However, with Polk's return to St. Louis, the *Leader* did not print any of his criticisms of the southern route. So it is hard to understand if Polk changed his mind or whether he did or did not pretend that he was opposed to the southern route. At least the earlier statement by his press, the *Leader*, that the central route was impracticable had much to do with that route's rejection.¹⁸ But before the end of July the *Leader* was asserting that it disapproved of the

¹⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 3, 1857.

¹⁵*Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 2, 1857.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, July 3, 1857.

¹⁷*Daily St. Louis Intelligencer*, July 9, 1857.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, July 16, 1857; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, July 15, 1857.

selection of the southern route; it declared that Frank Blair was responsible for its selection.¹⁹

Neither the *St. Louis Daily Evening News* nor the *St. Louis Daily Morning Herald* approved of the southern route.²⁰ The latter favored a route along the thirty-fourth parallel. The *Daily Missouri Republican*, although not in favor of the southern route, did not disapprove of it so heartily as did the *Democrat*, and praised Butterfield and the administration for the mail's establishment: "We rejoice over this result, because we have all along predicted it could be done, [although] not precisely on the line over which the travel has been made, and because it must soon become the great mail route between the Eastern and Western oceans."²¹

Having selected the route for the overland mail, Postmaster-General Brown next turned his attention to the awarding of the contract. Although none of the bids he received had specified the southern route, all of the bidders were willing to have their bids apply to that route.²² While the names of James Birch and a Captain Black were mentioned at first, as time passed, the express companies gained in favor, and on September 16, Butterfield and Company received the contract calling for a semi-weekly service at \$595,000 per year.²³

However, even after the route had been selected and the contract awarded to Butterfield and Company, Representative John Phelps of Missouri went to Washington in September to try to get the overland mail route changed to a central route.²⁴ The contract called for the junction of the two routes at Little Rock, Arkansas, although this was not considered feasible because of swamps and impassable rivers. Phelps in his letter to Brown, dated September 5, asked that the contractors be allowed to choose another junction more favorable to Missouri interests. Brown, in his reply of September 10, stated that the

¹⁹*St. Louis Daily Evening News*, July 24, 1857.

²⁰*Ibid.*, July 2, 1857; *St. Louis Daily Morning Herald*, October 20, 1858.

²¹*Daily Missouri Republican*, July 3, 1857; September 16, October 11, 1858.

²²*House Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, No. 2, Part III, p. 988.

²³*Ibid.*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 2, Part IV, p. 718; John Walton Caughey, *California* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1940), pp. 418-419; *Weekly St. Louis Intelligencer*, March 5, 1857.

²⁴*Weekly St. Louis Intelligencer*, September 15, 1857.

contractors and their securities could file in the Post Office Department a request that the junction of the two roads should be at Preston, Texas, instead of Little Rock, Arkansas. In this case the route would have to be through Springfield, Missouri, and Fayetteville, Van Buren, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, to a junction at or near Preston, Texas. Although this proposed change did not fulfill Phelps' expectations, he decided to accept it, and on September 11 Postmaster-General Brown issued an order covering the above provisions.²⁵

Meanwhile, before actual preparations could be made for service, it was necessary to explore the route. For this purpose two expeditions were organized, of which the first explored the eastern forks of the route from St. Louis to Memphis via Little Rock, and the second, divided into two groups, started from San Francisco and St. Louis, both meeting at El Paso.

The St. Louis-Memphis expedition, with governmental agents attached to it, left St. Louis on December 13, 1857. Travelling only by daylight, it averaged twenty-nine miles a day and arrived at Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 25. It reported the following table of distances, measured by means of an odometer attached to one of the wagon wheels:

St. Louis to Hillsboro, Mo.	40 miles
Hillsboro to Potosi	30 "
Potosi to Caledonia	12 "
Caledonia to Arcadia	18 "
Arcadia to Greenville	40 "
Greenville to Big Black river	16 "
Big Black river to Cane creek P. O.	8 "
Cane creek P. O. to Pitman's ferry, Ark.	28 "
Pitman's ferry to Jackson	32 "
Jackson to Smithville	15 "
Smithville to Batesville	35 "
Batesville to Searcy	45 "
Searcy to Little Rock	55 "
Total	374 ²⁶

²⁵*Daily Missouri Republican*, February 19, 1858; September 23, 1857; *Senate Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 48, p. 6.

²⁶*Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 12, 1858.

The first fourteen miles of the route, from St. Louis to the Meramec River, was on a good macadamized road, but the rest of the road to Little Rock was reported most unfavorably. As the expedition proceeded southward, it moved along through one continuous forest, except for the villages and settlers' homes found from one to six miles apart. It had to ford or ferry many streams and rivers, though at Batesville it crossed two bridges leading to the ferry. The party found it difficult going over mountains and through the muddy bottoms, and under such conditions night travel was impossible.

On December 26 the expedition left Little Rock on its way to Memphis by way of Helena, a distance of 130 miles by stage, by a route mainly through prairies which was good except for the first twelve miles. The party crossed the White River by ferry at Aberdeen, and found the road on to Helena less good than that from Little Rock, but it met no obstacles along the way. From Helena to Memphis, a distance of one hundred miles, the expedition travelled up the Mississippi by steamboat, arriving in Memphis on December 29. Its exploration completed, the party concluded that the route from Memphis to Little Rock was feasible but not that from St. Louis to Little Rock.²⁷

The following month the second expedition left St. Louis for El Paso, January 2, 1858, with Dr. G. W. Southwick of Texas as its leader and Charles P. Cole, an ex-reporter from New York, as assistant. The purpose of the expedition was to take notes on "the condition of the soil, the roads, the Indian tribes, the villages, streams, prairies, forests, the prices of animals, wages of men, etc.," along the route. From St. Louis the party travelled on the Pacific Railroad to Jefferson City from which, after making the preparations necessary for the long journey ahead, the party left for Springfield on the fifth. Thence the expedition followed a westerly course over the Springfield and Neosho stage road, through a prairie to Fort Gibson, arriving there on January 21, nineteen days after leaving St. Louis. The roads thus far were considered excellent

²⁷*Ibid.*

by members of the expedition; only a little work was necessary to make them equal to any.²⁸

Leaving Fort Gibson on January 22, the expedition encountered some bad roads on the Arkansas bottoms, but these, the party thought, could be easily improved. Crossing the Arkansas River by ferry just above the mouth of the Grand River, the group followed the Preston road leading to the Red River. Streams were high because of a heavy rain, and the roads in the bottoms greatly retarded the party's progress but those in the prairie were passable. After crossing the Canadian River by ferry and the Canadian Mountain, the explorers noted that the road leading down from the mountain should be graded and rocks removed. The next stretch of road to Gaines' Creek, they considered "one of the best natural roads in the Southwest."²⁹ They arrived at Preston, Texas, on February 1 and started for Sherman on the following day.

The inhabitants of Sherman heartily welcomed the expedition, and, hoping that the route would select their town, accepted Dr. Southwick's suggestions to improve roads and build bridges in their county, since of the three routes being explored, the most feasible would be chosen. Another member of the party was examining the route from Fort Smith to Preston, and Glover, of Tennessee, had explored the route from Little Rock to Preston.³⁰

Leaving Sherman on February 6, the expedition traversed Cross Timbers and arrived at Fort Belknap on the fourteenth. Wood, sandstone, and grass were plentiful at Cross Timbers and from Mount Helen to the Brazos River. From Fort Belknap to Fort Chadbourne, via Camp Cooper and the Fort Chadbourne road, the expedition reported that very little work would have to be done as the roads were excellent and the streams easy to cross.³¹

With an escort of fifteen troopers, the exploring party left Fort Chadbourne on February 26, crossed the Llano Estacado, and arrived at Pope's Camp on the Pecos River on March 10. The Llano Estacado was the only section along the entire

²⁸*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 3, 21, February 7, 1858.

²⁹*Ibid.*, March 2, 1858.

³⁰*Ibid.*, March 7, 1858.

³¹*Ibid.*, March 14, 24, 1858.

route that was found to be destitute of wood and water. On the eleventh the party set out via Delaware Creek, Guadalupe Pass, and Waco Forks, for El Paso, Texas, which it reached on March 18. On the whole the route was reported practicable for staging, the worst part of which was from the Red River to Fort Smith.³²

On arriving at El Paso, the expedition found waiting the exploring party from San Francisco, which, under the direction of Kenyon, had left San Francisco on January 16, 1858, and "passed through the San Francisco valley to the San Jose Valley; thence to the coast range of mountains; thence by the San Joaquin river to the Tulare valley, through Fort Yuma and Tucson to El Paso." Across the Territory of New Mexico, a middle route, between Beale's and the southern route, was chosen since all was good for staging.³³

But the exploration to determine the route of the Southern Overland Mail was not yet finished. On March 20 a party left El Paso for Fort Smith. It was composed of eight men: George W. Wood, Jesse Talcott, Charles P. Cole, and J. A. Lilly, who had been in the expedition from St. Louis, and Frank De Ryther, John Butterfield, Jr., S. K. Nellis, and James Swartz, who had been in the expedition from San Francisco. It followed Southwick's route as far as Pope's Camp on the Pecos River, branched on the trail along the eastern side of the river to Emigrant Crossing, to the Sand Hills via Marcy's trail, across the Llano Estacado to Mustang Springs, via the Big Springs of the Colorado and the Brazos River to Fort Belknap, which it reached on April 8, to Preston, and through the Indian Territory to Fort Smith, arriving there on the sixteenth. The expedition had covered 930 miles in twenty-five days—the quickest time made by any party on this route.³⁴

To get the route ready for service within a year, a great amount of work was necessary. It included grading the road, digging necessary wells and cisterns, erecting bridges and sta-

³²*Ibid.*, March 26, April 20, 22, 1858; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, April 27, 1858.

³³*Daily Missouri Republican*, April 22, 28, May 4, 1858; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, April 27, 1858.

³⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, April 28, May 3, 5, 1858.

tions, stocking the line, provisioning the stations, purchasing Concord coaches, and securing personnel. One through trip alone required one hundred drivers.³⁵

After service on the line had started, Butterfield and Company advertised in the St. Louis newspapers. The following is the first type of advertisement to appear in the *Daily Missouri Republican*:

California Overland Mail Route

THE COACHES OF THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY, leave the terminus of the Pacific Railroad, for San Francisco, every Monday and Thursday, via

WARSAW,
 SPRINGFIELD,
 FAYETTEVILLE,
 FORT SMITH,
 FORT BELKNAP,
 FORT CHADBOURNE,
 EL PASO,
 FORT YUMA, and
 LOS ANGELES.

Schedule time from St. Louis to San Francisco, twenty-five days.

Tickets may be had at office of the Company, No. 56 North Main Street.

JOHN BUTTERFIELD, President

S. M. Allen, Agent³⁶

Later the company also had the following notice published in the *Republican*:

OVERLAND MAIL leaves MONDAYS and THURSDAYS of each week. All letters must be marked "By Overland Mail."³⁷

Because the eastern end of the mail route was at the terminus of the Pacific Railroad, that company in its own advertisement included the following statement:

From Tipton stages leave daily at 6:00 P.M. (on arrival of mail train from St. Louis,) for Independence (through Georgetown and Warrensburg)

³⁵*Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 3, 1859.

³⁶*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 5, 1858.

³⁷*Ibid.*, October 31, 1859.

for Springfield and for Boonville, and on every Monday and Thursday P.M. the Overland Mail stages of Butterfield & Co.

Through to San Francisco in Twenty-five Days!²⁸

As the Pacific Railroad pushed westward, later advertisements named Syracuse and Smithton as points of departure for the Southern Overland Mail coaches going to San Francisco.²⁹

In anticipation of the mail service, the following time schedules were published in a St. Louis newspaper:

GOING WEST

Leave	Days	Hours	Miles
St. Louis, Mo. and Memphis, Tenn.	Mon. & Thurs.	8:00 A.M.	...
P. R. R. trmns., Mo.	Mon. & Thurs.	6:00 P.M.	160
Springfield, Mo.	Wed. & Sat.	7:45 A.M.	143
Fayetteville, Mo.	Thurs. & Sat.	10:15 A.M.	100
Fort Smith, Ark.	Fri. & Mon.	3:30 A.M.	65
Sherman, Texas	Sun. & Wed.	12:30 A.M.	205
Ft. Belknap, Texas	Mon. & Thurs.	9:00 A.M.	146½
Ft. Chadbourn, Texas	Tues. & Fri.	3:15 P.M.	136
Pecos river (Em. crs.	Thurs. & Sun.	3:45 A.M.	165
El Paso	Sat. & Tues.	11:00 A.M.	248½
Soldier's Farewell	Sun. & Wed.	8:30 P.M.	150
Tuscon, Arizona	Tues. & Fri.	1:30 P.M.	184½
Gila River, Arizona	Wed. & Sat.	9:00 P.M.	141
Fort Yuma, Cal.	Fri. & Mon.	3:00 A.M.	135
San Bernardino, Cal.	Sat. & Tues.	11:00 P.M.	200
Fort Tejon (via Los Angeles	Mon. & Thurs.	7:30 A.M.	150
Visalia, do	Tues. & Fri.	11:20 A.M.	127
Firebaugh's Ferry, do	Wed. & Sat.	5:30 A.M.	82
Arrive San Francisco	Thurs. & Sun.	8:30 A.M.	163

GOING EAST

Leave	Days	Hours	Miles
San Francisco, Cal.	Mon. & Thurs.	8:00 A.M.	...
Firebaugh's Ferry, C.	Tues. & Fri.	11:00 A.M.	163
Visalia, Cal.	Wed. & Sat.	5:00 A.M.	82
Fort Tejon (via Los Angeles to)	Thurs. & Sun.	9:00 A.M.	127
San Bernardino, do	Fri. & Mon.	5:30 P.M.	150

²⁸*Ibid.*, October 27, 1858.

²⁹*Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 15, 1859; February 8, 1861.

Leave	Days	Hours	Miles
Fort Yuma, do	Sun. & Wed.	1:30 P.M.	200
Gila River, Arizona	Mon. & Thurs.	7:30 P.M.	135
Tuscon, Arizona	Wed. & Sat.	3:00 A.M.	141
Soldier's Farewell	Thurs. & Sun.	8:00 P.M.	184½
El Paso, Texas	Sat. & Tues.	5:30 A.M.	150
Pecos River (Em. Cross)	Mon. & Thurs.	12:45 P.M.	248½
Fort Chadbourne, Texas	Wed. & Sat.	1:15 A.M.	165
Fort Belknap, Texas	Thurs. & Sun.	7:30 A.M.	136
Sherman, Texas	Fri. & Mon.	4:00 P.M.	146½
Fort Smith, Ark.	Sun. & Wed.	1:00 P.M.	205
Fayetteville, Mo.	Mon. & Thurs.	6:15 A.M.	65
Springfield, Mo.	Tues. & Fri.	8:45 A.M.	100
P. R. R. terminus, Mo.	Wed. & Sat.	10:30 P.M.	143
Arrive St. Louis Mo. and Memphis, Tenn.	Thurs. & Sun.	160 ⁴⁰

By September, 1858, Butterfield and Company, with the assistance of the superintendents in charge of the six divisions of the line, had everything in readiness to begin service on the route.⁴¹ Only in one section, from Fort Chadbourne to El Paso, were arrangements incomplete at this time,⁴² but this fact did not deter the company from launching its great enterprise. On September 15, 1858, at 12:10 A.M. the first eastbound coach left San Francisco. On September 16, at seven o'clock in the morning, the first westbound mail left the St. Louis post office and an hour and a half later was on its way out of the city via the Pacific Railroad to Tipton, Missouri. Also on that day, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the first mail from Memphis left Hopefield, Arkansas (on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite Memphis), over the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad. It went by rail for twenty-four miles and was then taken by overland coach to Fort Smith. Chidester and Company, subcontractors under Butterfield and Company, were responsible for the service between Memphis and Fort Smith.⁴³

⁴⁰*Daily Missouri Republican*, September 13, 1858.

⁴¹*St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, July 6, August 10, 1858.

⁴²*The First Overland Mail; Butterfield Trail*. Edited by Walter B. Lang (n. p., 1940), p. 85.

⁴³*House Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 2, Part IV, p. 739; *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 16, November 7, 1858; September 22, 1858, quoting the *Memphis Bulletin*, September 16, 1858.

Of all the towns through which the mail coaches passed, Fort Smith was most enthusiastic in its welcome. The coach bringing the mail from St. Louis reached Fort Smith on September 19 at 2:55 A.M., fifteen minutes after the westbound coach from Memphis. Despite the early morning hour, their arrivals were greeted by a cannon firing sixteen salutes. Although the citizens rushed to the hotel to cheer and to glimpse the mail bags, the mail was traveling on schedule and could not be delayed for local celebrations. At 3:30 A.M. one coach left for the west, carrying the combined mail.⁴⁴

An eastbound coach bringing the mail from San Francisco arrived at Fort Smith on October 7, but ceremonies celebrating the event were not held until the thirteenth and fourteenth. After a cannon salute fired by United States troops at nine o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth, a long parade, headed by a band and two companies of United States infantry, contained (in costume) the Hook and Ladder company, the Odd Fellows, mechanics, and farmers, and at the end of the line, riding in an overland mail coach, John B. Luce, John Phelps (United States Representative from Missouri), local ministers, and the town council. The parade headed for a grove for addresses by Luce and Phelps and a barbecue. The late arrival of Butterfield and his son was the only mischance of the celebration.

The following evening a public supper and ball were given at the City Hotel. On the table was a cake shaped like a mail bag, with the words, "Overland Mail, San Francisco," inscribed in gilt letters. When the cake was cut, a letter was found inside, postmarked "San Francisco," bearing an imitation stamp, and addressed to Butterfield. The letter was a humorous description of the departure of the first eastbound mail and of the welcome that the first westbound coach was to receive on its arrival in San Francisco.⁴⁵

But the first eastbound coach did not delay in Fort Smith to celebrate its arrival. Two days later, on October 9, at 8:45 P.M., the first mail arrived in St. Louis via the Pacific Rail-

⁴⁴*Daily Missouri Republican*, October 3, 1858; Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 75.

⁴⁵*Daily Missouri Republican*, October 19, 1858.

road.⁴⁶ St. Louisans, notified of its coming by a dispatch from Jefferson City, arranged to welcome Butterfield, who had met the mail coach at Springfield and continued on with the mail. St. Louis enthusiasts, led by the St. Louis Silver Band, welcomed Butterfield and escorted the mail from the railroad station on Seventh Street to the post office, where the mail was turned over to the officials.⁴⁷

On October 10, one day after the first eastbound mail reached St. Louis, the first westbound mail arrived in San Francisco and was celebrated the following evening by a mass meeting which drafted resolutions commending the Post Office Department for establishing the service, urging the government to establish military posts along the route, and asking it not to renew steamship contracts.⁴⁸

Because of the enthusiasm over the new route, the demand for seats in the mail coaches exceeded the number of seats available. According to Smiley, who arrived in St. Louis on December 11, 1858, lots had been cast for the tickets in San Francisco. Being one of the winners, Smiley was offered one hundred dollars for his seat.⁴⁹ J. P. Myers, who came east the following month, reported that all seats had been booked for the next four trips of the mail coach from San Francisco. Myers himself had had to agree to lay over in El Paso if all the seats had been previously engaged from that point.⁵⁰

The Southern Overland Mail had had an auspicious beginning; that it continued to render efficient and valuable mail and passenger service is evident from the records available in the files of contemporary St. Louis newspapers. During the first year of its existence, these journals report the arrival of the stagecoaches on each of the 104 eastbound trips scheduled, bringing to St. Louis at least 82 "through" passengers from San Francisco, Los Angeles, or some other city in California;

⁴⁶*House Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 2, Part IV, p. 739. *The Republican*, October 10, 1858, gives the time of the arrival as a little after nine.

⁴⁷*Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 11, 1858; *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 10, 1858; Squires, *Missouri Historical Review*, XXVI, 335-336.

⁴⁸*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 7, 10, 12, 1858.

⁴⁹*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 13, 1858.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, January 7, 1859.



The Overland Mail—Passing a Bivouac of Emigrants. Reproduced from an illustration in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 23, 1858.



The Overland Mail—Crossing a Stream at Night. Reproduced from an illustration in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 23, 1858.



The Overland Mail—Changing the Stage-coach for the Celerity Wagon. Reproduced from an illustration in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 23, 1858.

101 "way" passengers, or those who had boarded the coach at an intermediate point along the line; and 4 passengers who were not designated by the newspapers as either "through" or "way." However, this data is not complete because the press reported the arrival of a coach occasionally without stating the number of passengers and did not report passengers taking the alternate route to Memphis or those who finished their trip before reaching St. Louis.

It is interesting to note that the names of very few women appear in the passenger lists. The first woman to make the trip east—a Mrs. Crume, accompanying her husband—arrived in St. Louis with the tenth overland mail on November 14, 1858.⁵¹ The first woman to make the trip west was a Mrs. Lovejoy, who arrived in San Francisco on April 6, 1859.⁵²

When interviewed on their arrival in St. Louis or in California, the passengers talked principally about the Indians, the roads, the Gila Mines, various incidents on the trip, and weather conditions along the route.

The news sent over the route was of varied interest; it included political items, accounts of Indian campaigns, social and sport events, disasters, the progress made in the construction of a telegraph line extending from Salt Lake City to points in California, plus news from the Orient. Just as the Southern Overland Mail brought to St. Louis news of California and the West, it carried the news from the East and Europe to the California newspapers. The *San Francisco Times*, *Evening Bulletin*, *Alta California*, *Sacramento Union*, and *Democratic Standard* had correspondents in St. Louis who gathered the news for their respective papers, and sometimes telegraphed to Jefferson City to overtake the morning mail.⁵³

The topic, Indians, provoked much concern. According to newspaper accounts, both the Comanches and Apaches were a menace to the operation of the line, but the Comanches committed more depredations. The latter killed ten people in one year from November, 1859, to November, 1860. Their main purpose, however, was to plunder and to steal stock. From

⁵¹*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 16, 1858.

⁵²*St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, April 30, 1859.

⁵³*Daily Missouri Democrat*, August 9, 1859.

December, 1858, to July, 1860, they stole at least 223 head of horses and mules.⁵⁴ In fact, during the winter of 1858-1859, their depredations had reached such proportions that the passengers reported the Comanches and the Overland Mail employees virtually at war.⁵⁵ The Indians lurked around the stages, obstructed their passage with rocks, and burned a station near Soldier's Farewell. Then, sometime in February, the Comanches disappeared from around the stations, only to renew hostilities in March.⁵⁶ In May, 1859, the company had to change the route between El Paso and Horse Head Crossing so as to avoid the Indians near Delaware Creek. The following October the Comanches were so hostile that many drivers and conductors indicated a desire to quit the service. Most of the Comanche attacks were concentrated around Delaware Creek, the Concha River, Mustang Pond, and between the Mountain Pass and Phantom Hill.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, the Apaches, begging for meat and food at various stations, were given some presents and were kept on friendly terms for a while.⁵⁸ Mexicans, and not the Apaches, were generally suspected of stealing stock from the stations in the Apache range. However, one newspaper account states that the Apaches drove off thirty-five horses.⁵⁹ On January 3, 1859, they killed two herders about ten miles north of El Paso.⁶⁰ But the Apaches, under Mangus Colorado, were most troublesome at Apache Pass. To get more money from the government for the use of their land, the Apaches on several occasions piled up rocks and hay in the pass to interfere with the pas-

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, January 7, September 13, November 7, 1859; *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 3, 7, February 1, 7, March 14, November 10, 1859; July 7, 1860; *St. Louis Daily Evening News*, December 31, 1858; January 7, October 22, 1859; May 10, November 28, 1860.

⁵⁵*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 3, 10, 1858; *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 5, 1859; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, January 7, 12, 1859.

⁵⁶*Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 7, March 28, 1859; *Daily Missouri Republican*, February 7, 10, March 7, 14, 1859.

⁵⁷*Daily Missouri Democrat*, June 8, November 7, 10, 1859; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, November 17, December 31, 1858; *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 3, 5, February 1, 7, March 14, 1859; July 7, 1860.

⁵⁸*Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 7, 1859.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, January 12, 1859; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, January 12, 1859; *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 19, 25, 1859.

⁶⁰*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 19, 1859.

sage of the coaches. The passengers would then have to help remove the obstructions before the coaches could go on. However, by August, 1859, trouble from the Apaches had subsided.⁶¹

That military protection against the Indians would be necessary was foreseen by John Butterfield. He applied to the government for such protection, but when the President and his cabinet considered his application, they arrived at no decision. Although it was understood that Postmaster-General Brown had also asked the President for protection of the route, nothing was done about the matter before service was started on the line. Thereupon Senator William M. Gwin, of California, wrote a letter to President Buchanan, dated October 12, 1858, urging him to establish military posts along the route to protect the mail and passengers. When on November 1, 1858, Butterfield again applied for defense against the Indians, Secretary of War Floyd assured him that protection would be extended as soon as possible. Although President Buchanan favored protection along the route, Indian difficulties in Texas, Washington, and Oregon required the service of the army, and no troops could be spared to guard the overland route until the Comanche escapades of December, 1858, and January, 1859, when three or four companies of troops were ordered to quell the Indians.⁶² The troops did what they could, but it was not until about eighteen years after the Butterfield route was abandoned that the Comanches were finally subdued.⁶³

Throughout the entire time that the Southern Overland Mail was in operation some members of Congress wanted the route changed, either by congressional action or by the contractors themselves. Representative Frank P. Blairs Jr., of Missouri and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts were most active in advocating selection by the contractors.⁶⁴ Sena-

⁶¹*Ibid.*, February 4, March 10, 1859; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, March 28, 1859; *St. Louis Daily Evening News*, August 24, 1859; February 28, 1861.

⁶²*Daily Missouri Republican*, May 10, 24, October 17, November 6, 1858; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 5, 1859; *St. Louis Daily Evening News and Intelligencer*, November 2, 1858.

⁶³Richardson, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 15.

⁶⁴*Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1198, 1312-1313, 1408, 1499; *Ibid.*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2841.

tors David C. Broderick, William Gwin, and Representative Milton S. Latham of California, Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire, and Representative Schuyler Colfax of Indiana fostered several legislative bills calling for a central route,⁶⁵ either from St. Joseph to Placerville or from St. Louis via Salt Lake City to San Francisco, but no changes were made until 1861. With the outbreak of the Civil War, there was much interference with the mail service through Texas, and as a result, Congress enacted a law providing for a subsidized mail service on the central route and authorizing the postmaster-general to discontinue the Butterfield mail service on or before July 1, 1861. The Company was to be given an opportunity to accept a modification of the contract and to receive pay both while transferring from the southern route and, in addition, two months' pay of the existing contract to cover costs of changing the route. Mail service should be provided over the central route six times a week, and the entire mails delivered tri-weekly to Denver City and Great Salt Lake City, at a compensation of \$1,000,000 per year. The new contract provided that the mail was to be carried from St. Joseph, Missouri, or Atchison, Kansas, to Placerville; service was to begin July 1, 1861, and end July 1, 1864. All provisions of the law were included in the contract, except that only one month's pay (\$50,000) was allowed in terminating the previous contract. Butterfield and Company also agreed to start one coach daily from each terminus, although their contract stipulated only six per week.⁶⁶

The transfer to the central route began about April 1, 1861. It took about three months to move the stock and equipment, and to build new way stations, located from twelve to eighteen miles apart. Colonel Alvord, company agent, selected St. Joseph as the eastern terminus of the new mail route.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 1503, 1510; *Ibid.*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1628, 1648, 2338-2339, 2460; *Ibid.*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 547, 1128.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1356; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, p. 213; *Senate Executive Documents*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 1, Part III, p. 560; *The Statutes at Large, Treaties, and Proclamations of the United States of America from December 5, 1859, to March 3, 1863*, edited by George P. Sanger, XII, 205-207.

An arrangement was made with Russell, Majors, and Waddell whereby that company operated the Pony Express and the daily mail coach service from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City, and the Butterfield Company operated that portion of the line from Salt Lake City to Placerville. With the first stages leaving St. Joseph and Placerville on July 1, 1861, a daily overland mail on the central route was at last realized.⁶⁷

The Southern Overland Mail had come to an end after only two and a half years of service, but it left its impression on the Southwest. Despite Indian threats and numerous other obstacles which it had to face, operation of the line was regular and faster than other lines, except the Pony Express, established in April, 1860.⁶⁸ The Overland Mail ended for a time the isolation of southwestern settlers by providing them with mail and passenger service; it accelerated the growth of population in the regions it traversed; and it brought greater prosperity to the people along its route. Nor were its benefits unappreciated at the time. Grayson County, Texas, bridged her streams to help the company, and the proprietor of the ferry across Red River transported its coaches free of charge.⁶⁹ It had been a dependable link between distant parts of the nation during critical pre-Civil War years. Most of its coaches arrived ahead of schedule; indeed, according to contemporary newspaper accounts, during the first year and a half of service, only three coaches were late in arriving at their terminus.⁷⁰ It had transported mail, consisting mainly of letters—governmental, commercial, and private—but early in 1859, when the breach between the North and South was reaching irreparable proportions and news was vital, a news agent in San Francisco

⁶⁷*Senate Executive Documents*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 1, Part III, p. 560; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, March 20, 26, May 2, 1861; *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 4, 30, 1861; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, p. 189; *St. Louis Daily Evening News*, June 6, 1861; Edward Douglas Branch, *Westward; The Romance of the American Frontier* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930), p. 502.

⁶⁸Richardson, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 10-11; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 13, 1859; Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869*, p. 180.

⁶⁹Richardson, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 16.

⁷⁰*Daily Missouri Republican*, June 3, 1859; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, January 12, 1859.

ordered 1200 copies of the *Daily Missouri Republican* to be sent to him regularly over the southern route.⁷¹ The Southern Overland Mail, or the Butterfield Company which operated it, had overcome tremendous difficulties and fought savage Indians to span the Trans-Mississippi West with a regular mail and passenger line.

⁷¹*Daily Missouri Republican*, February 1, 1859.

THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF JOHN T. BUEGEL, UNION SOLDIER

PART II

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM G. BEK¹

—1863—

On January 1, New Year's Day, all the troops remained on board the boats, and there was no further attack. All awaited coming events. The weather was warm and pleasant so one could dry his clothes. On January 2 we landed at Young's Point on the Louisiana side. On the third of January all the troops were ordered back on the boats. The flotilla consisted of four gunboats, two ramboats, a flag boat and fifty transport boats. On the 4th the embarkation was completed and the flotilla steamed up the Mississippi. The same on the 5th, 6th, and 7th. For a change we again had to carry wood and fence rails on the boats since no coal was to be had. On January 8 the flotilla came to Napoleon, Arkansas. Here the Arkansas River flows into the Mississippi. The gunboats made excursions to this and that point. During the night of the 8th to the 9th of January, the flotilla went sixty miles up the Arkansas River. On the 10th all troops were landed three miles from Fort Arkansas Post (also called Fort Nelson) on the Arkansas River. General Steel's division was supposed to flank the enemy, but had to turn back because it was impossible to get through the swamp. The gunboats had determined the position of the enemy during the day. On the evening of the 10th of January the gunboats and a ramboat broke through the blockade and the rebel fort was bombarded from both sides. At night this was a magnificent sight. We of the infantry and artillery had to circumvent the enemy during the night, going through the swamp. In order not to mire down in the swamp, it was necessary to cut down trees and so make a road.

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Our fieldpieces had to be carried through on the shoulders of men. Thus we reached the barracks of the enemy in the middle of the night. The Rebels had withdrawn to their fortification. The night passed quietly.

On the 11th of January in the morning the order "Fall in" came, and immediately we went into battleline. Our artillery was not yet in position, and indeed did not arrive till an hour later. Our Third Regiment faced the enemy's artillery. At eight-thirty the enemy greeted us with a cannon shot. The first shot passed high over us. The second shell, however, passed two and half feet over the ground so that both legs of Captain Green of Company K were cut off, and our ensign, as well as a corporal of the color guard were killed on the spot. As I was the next to the flag I had to pick it up. Since we of the infantry could not do anything yet, and only served as a target, we lay down flat on the ground, but kept the flag high. The third shell came so low, however, and tore my hat off my head so that it flew far back. The fourth shell killed the horse of Colonel Meuman who was in command. So we lay for perhaps an hour, a target, and yet had to stay. At 10 o'clock all the batteries were in position. Now the affair started. We were sent to a better protected position. When the artillery had taken position, a terrible cannonade started. From the river the gunboats hurled their fiery shots into the fort and from the landside fifty cannons fired. It seemed as if the elements were in rebellion and made the earth tremble. This cannonade

in the United States place him among the highest authorities in this line of historical research. He has published in the *Missouri Historical Review* the following works: "A German Communistic Society in Missouri," a history of Bethel, Shelby County; "The Report of Gottfried Duden, 1824-1827"; "The Followers of Duden," appearing during 1908-1909, 1917-1919, and 1919-1925, respectively; and "George Engelmann, Man of Science," in 1929. He has translated and presented to the Society typewritten copies of the following: *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824* by Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Wuerttemberg; *The Experiences and Adventures of the Stephanites Who Emigrated from Sazony, Their Journey to St. Louis, Their Stay There and the Conditions of Their Colony in Perry County*, by C. Heinrich; *Seventy-Five Years in the Old and New World, Memoirs of an Unimportant Person*, by Henry Boernstein; *History of the Washington [Missouri] Turner Society from Its Founding on December 13, 1859; St. Louis in Former Years*, by E. D. Kargau; *Das Westliche Nord Amerika*, by N. Hesse; and the letters of William G. Kiel, founder of the Bethel communistic society in Shelby County in 1844. The State Historical Society elected Dr. Bek an honorary member in 1938, one of the three such members.

lasted uninterruptedly till four o'clock in the afternoon. At this time the infantry was also ordered into battleline. We in the infantry had not yet been able to take part in the battle. At four o'clock we proceeded to the general attack. The enemy had felled all the big trees and thrown them helter skelter in front of their rifle pits, but left a large open gap as a trap.

All at once all the cannonade stopped, and our infantry moved forward. The enemy allowed us to approach to one hundred paces. But then the blue beans [bullets] flew into our ranks, bringing death and destruction. Since it was impossible to get over the barricade, we were all crowded into the trap, and our boys fell like flies. It was terrible. Whoever was still able to walk, ran back, but most of them were killed or wounded. This lasted for a quarter of an hour. In the rush I had been pushed back with the flag and the flag staff had been broken, so I threw myself down flat behind a tree trunk. When the excitement had subsided a bit and our regiment had fallen back, I looked over my tree trunk, in order to see how things looked at the front. Immediately a bullet grazed the right side of my head so that it bled. From the right flank someone shot off the strap that held my blanket together, so that it fell from me. From the left flank a shot took the heel off my left shoe. This experience shook me through and through. I could stay there no longer. I seized my flag, rolled it up as well as I could, jumped up and ran back as quickly as I could. I was not able to count the bullets that were sent after me, but I and the flag got back to the regiment without further injury. Our Colonel Meuman congratulated me, gave me a good sip from his canteen, and I was all right again. After this attack had failed, a cannon was ordered to the right flank, and fired only one shot into the trenches. Immediately the white flag became visible on the enemy's side, and an unconditional surrender followed. When the flag became visible there resounded a stormy hurrah. We marched at once into the enemy's position. The entire garrison of six thousand men was taken prisoner, also many rifles and some twenty cannon were captured. In the enemy's camp it looked terrible, but in consideration of the bombardment not so many men had fallen as was to be expected. The victory was indeed on our

side, but nevertheless had been bought dearly. Our brigade alone had lost eight hundred men dead or wounded. Our regiment had lost some four hundred. The Irish had suffered most. Our Company F deplored the loss of five dead and twelve wounded. Of these twelve wounded only one recovered. All the eleven died during the transport to the hospital. I did not ascertain the total number of the fallen. On January 12 we buried our dead in long rows one beside one another, wrapped in their blankets. On the 13th everything was leveled and burned. On the 14th we were back on our boats. It rained incessantly the whole day and night. On the 15th the flotilla steamed down the Arkansas River again, and on the 16th again arrived at Napoleon, where all troops remained on the boat till the 19th. The boat was docked. On the 20th the flotilla moved down the Mississippi. On the journey we again had to carry wood and fence rails on the boat. On the 23rd we landed all troops at Young's Point on the Louisiana side six miles opposite Vicksburg, where we set up our camp on the levee. On the 24th of January a few shells were sent by our gunboats to Vicksburg to let Johnny Reb know that we were there again. On February 1 a messenger came from Vicksburg in order to negotiate with General Grant and General Sherman. Nothing became known concerning the negotiation. From the first to the twentieth of February we remained in our camp on the levee at Young's Point, Louisiana. Our occupation was to do guard duty every fifth day, and every other day dig in the canal or forage feed for the horses, etc. On March 7 the high water broke the canal and all our work was for naught. On account of the high water we had to move our camp. On March 9 and 10 our gunboats maintained a cannonade across the Mississippi shelling Vicksburg. The enemy replied in kind. Day after day we maneuvered till March 21. On March 22 a great inspection by General Steel. We remained in camp till March 30. On April 1 came marching orders. Our division was again ordered on board the boat for an expedition up the Mississippi as far as Greenville, Mississippi.

On April 5, Easter Day, all troops landed on Deer Creek. At noon, we marched, and camped six miles from the landing place. On the 6th we had to build bridges since they had been

burned by the enemy. Then a work of destruction was undertaken. Cotton presses and Confederate property were destroyed. On the 7th our outposts had a small skirmish. We at once assumed position in battle order and our batteries took position and sent a few shells into the forest. It was only small bands that attacked, or rather wanted to molest us, but gave no battle and took to their heels and disappeared. The night passed quietly. On the 8th we marched back but were pursued by the bands. On the 9th we again had a little maneuver. On the 10th the second brigade advanced and had a skirmish, during which one man was killed. The bands are said to have lost many of their number, as our artillery kept up a lively fire. Our first brigade was ordered to execute a flanking march, in order to catch the bands. However, this plan had to be given up on account of the large swamps in this region, through which horses and cannons could not be taken. From the 14th to the 23rd of April we were in constant excitement. Day and night we had our guns in hand. Squads of our troops were constantly on the march. On some days they marched twenty-five to thirty miles. As we did not accomplish anything, and the bands could not be caught, all the niggers were driven together. Also all sorts of cattle and other provisions were taken on the boat, and other property was destroyed by order of the general. On April 23 we were again on the boat and landed on April 29 at Milligan's Bend opposite Vicksburg on the Louisiana side. Here the entire 15th Army Corps was in camp. On the 30th payday. On May 1 division drill. On May 2 marching orders.

Since the first campaign against Vicksburg by Union troops had not been successful, the Rebels believed that their fortress was unconquerable. It was indeed a strong fortress. Twenty miles from Grand Gulf south past Vicksburg to Chic-asaw Bayou there was one fort with connecting trenches and studded with heavy cannons, which we had occasion to taste often enough. When we were working on the canal, shells came daily across the Mississippi to hinder our building. It was, however, the plan of General Grant, General Sherman, and Admiral Porter and others that the fortresses of Vicksburg had to fall at all cost, and this plan succeeded completely.

On May 2 came marching orders. On the same day two divisions of the 15th Army Corps were ordered on board the boats, and in the afternoon steamed up the Yazoo River. A gunboat led the flotilla as a decoy. Since Milligan's Bend was completely free of timber, this act of deception was successful. The enemy was able to observe closely the movements of our troops from the hills at Vicksburg. On the evening of May 2 two gunboats and six transports lay by close to the levee. The latter were protected by bales of cotton. The Mississippi had by this time fallen considerably, and so the enemy did not notice this maneuver and fixed his entire attention on the activity on the Yazoo River. During the night of the third of May between twelve and one o'clock the two gunboats and six transports were set noiselessly into motion, and rode along the bend of the Mississippi, and then crossed the river close by the enemy forts, without being observed. Before Johnny Reb had recovered from his surprise and fear, the Yankees were out of his firing range. Because the night was so dark he could not aim accurately. Now ensued a fearful bombardment. The enemy made the night as bright as day with flare shells in order to be able to aim better. In vain, our troops had too much of a start. One transport had its engine destroyed and burned up, but the men on board were rescued. That was all the damage that was done. All the others got by without loss of life, and steamed down the river as far as Fort Grand Gulf which was also strongly fortified. The two gunboats now bombarded this fort with all their might and by daybreak the fort lay in ruins.

That same night, May 3, our division marched through a swamp, and by dawn we were likewise opposite Fort Grand Gulf on the Louisiana side. Immediately we were ordered on board and were conveyed across the Mississippi, and our troops took possession of Grand Gulf. The garrison was taken prisoner and the fort was razed.

On the 4th, 5th, and 6th of May the remainder of the 15th Army Corps was brought over. The seventh was a day of rest. On the 8th and 9th we marched, came to Turkey Creek and passed Rock Spring, Mississippi. On the 10th we marched. On the 11th our brigade had a skirmish. The 17th

Missouri Turner Regiment had five men wounded, and the flying battery one man killed.

On the 12th of May General Osterhaus with three brigades had a skirmish at Reemont, [Raymond] Mississippi (former seat of the government). Our brigade marched through Reemont on the 13th, and five miles from there we camped in the forest. It rained continuously that day, that night, and also the whole of the 14th. In spite of that we marched, and got wet to the skin. Our brigade under Colonel Woods had the right wing. At noon on the 14th we came to Jackson, Mississippi. We went on the double to the trenches. When we reached these, the stars and stripes waved from the capitol of Jackson, Mississippi, and we were in possession of the place.

On May 15 began the work of destruction. All railroads for miles were torn up. All bridges, factories, in short, everything that belonged to the Confederacy was wrecked. All stores were plundered, so the niggers and workers had a rich harvest and booty. On the night from the 15th to the 16th, the beautiful city of Jackson was in bright flames. At Jackson, our brigade was assigned to General Steel's division. On the 17th at nine o'clock A. M. our division marched from Jackson to Vicksburg. Our 15th Army Corps was on the march at the same time but on a different road. General Sherman was ahead of us. We had an engagement at Big Black River and took several thousand prisoners and also captured many guns and twenty field pieces. During the night our brigade had to cross the Black River. We marched day and night. On the 18th of May in the afternoon, our brigade arrived at the right wing on Walnut Hill near the Mississippi River near Vicksburg, but now in the rear of the enemy. Before we had reached our assigned position, we were received in an unfriendly manner by Johnny Reb. We had to run for a quarter of a mile over a hill where we were exposed to enemy fire from rifles and cannons. We raced singly and so got through all right. Lieutenant Fischer of our Company F was wounded since he could not run well. The enemy had withdrawn to his fortifications and was now completely shut in.

Our 3rd Missouri Regiment had the extreme right wing on Walnut Hill near the Mississippi. We had a bad position.

The enemy had a fort near the river and could bombard the hill when we were located. So we were not safe for a single minute from his batteries. As soon as we had taken our position we threw up breastworks and made trenches during the night. A general siege had begun. From the 19th to the 22nd of May our earthworks were improved and strengthened. In order to protect ourselves somewhat against the enemy fire we dug holes in the side of the hill. As soon as the batteries began to shell us, each one slipped into his hole like mice. But this did not help much. On the morning of May 22 the head of our ensign (an Irishman) was shot off while he was reading a paper in his hole. So we were not safe for a minute, and many a one fell. On the same day our brigade had to march three miles to a strongly fortified rebel fort. In order to reach our position, we had to run over three open fields which the enemy swept with cannons and rifle fire. Over each field it was about 300 to 400 paces. So we crossed singly or by twos. In this manner the whole division had to run the blockade. That under such conditions many fell will be easily understood. In the afternoon by four o'clock General Steel's division was at its destination. Immediately a general attack was begun. A devastating fire met us. Most of the 9th Iowa remained on the hill. Whoever poked his head over the hill was a dead man. The second brigade made the next attempt but only a few came back. Our first brigade made the third attempt, but the fire was redoubled, and it was impossible to get forward or backward. Fortunately we were protected by hills so that we did not get into the crossfire. It was a slaughter, and it is a wonder that the whole division was not destroyed on the spot. What had been accomplished? Nothing at all. However, something like a thousand men had fallen. During the night the living slipped out of this murderous pit and at one o'clock, dead tired and hungry, returned to our old position, richer in experience. Our regiment suffered a loss of twenty men, and all the wounded died, making a total loss of forty-three men. The common soldier does not ascertain who was responsible for this murder. But it was rumored that it was again jealousy and betrayal that caused the death of so many. It was also asserted that a general attack was supposed to take place on the whole

line but was not carried out, so the enemy could throw his troops against this division. This claim is probably the most credible. After this failure the siege was conducted in a better manner. New and large fortifications were established on the whole line and supplied with heavy guns. A cannonade was maintained day and night along the whole line. In addition to this, a fleet of mortar boats was stationed on the Mississippi, which day and night hurled hot balls into the enemy defenses, and caused great damage. So it went on from May 22 till July 3. On July 3, 1863, came an enemy messenger with a white flag into our works to negotiate with General Grant and General Sherman. All hostility stopped instantly and no shot was heard along the whole line. On July 4, 1863, the fortifications of Vicksburg were delivered to the Union and the whole Mississippi was again free. How many prisoners, rifles, and cannons were conquered did not become known to me. It was reported that there were 30,000 men and also many rifles and three hundred small and large cannons, etc. On that day, July 4, the 17th Army Corps marched into the defenses and to Vicksburg and took possession of everything. Our 15th Army Corps received marching orders on July 4, and on the same day marched to Jackson, Mississippi, for the second time and arrived there on July 10. The Rebels had again assembled there and fortified themselves. The advance guard was Blair's division and had immediately gone into action. When our division arrived, the battle was going full blast. We did not get into action immediately but were held as reserves. We were so close that the enemy bullets fell among us. In order to protect ourselves we had to throw up breastworks at once and sit or lie therein for a few days. In spite of that, several were killed and others wounded. Two brothers of Company F were torn to pieces by one shell, so that their blood was spattered all around. We always called the brothers Zaenker (Quarrelers), because they quarreled at all times, day and night. This quarreling had now finished.

On July 15 the battle ended, and the enemy withdrew with great losses. On July 16 the dead were buried, the wounded were carried from the battlefield, and what was left of Jackson was burned. Our division marched that same day

to Canton, where we camped one and a half miles from Canton on a creek. The Rebs had burned the bridge over the creek so we could not cross immediately. On the other side of the creek the Rebels had taken position. There followed a small engagement during which the Third Missouri lost two men, the Twelfth Missouri five, and Seventy-sixth three men. After our guns had sent a few shells across, we were not molested any more that night. On July 17 we marched through Canton—a beautiful town. Here fires were also set, but private property was spared. On the 18th we came for the third time to Jackson and on the same day reached Clinton, Mississippi. On the 22nd, 23rd, 24th we marched and reached Big Black River. On July 28 we occupied a camp of regulars beside a bridge leading over the Big Black River, fifteen miles from Vicksburg. It was indeed the highest time we should get some rest and that we should get new shoes and clothes. Most of us had tattered clothes and resembled a motley mob more than soldiers. At this camp General P. Osterhaus again became our division commander. From July 28 to August 23 we had time for recovery, and nothing of particular interest happened. A few brigades were sent out at this time on a cotton expedition. About a thousand bales were already in our camp, which were presently transferred to the north. On September 1 there was inspection for Generals Sherman and Osterhaus. On the third of September Frank Steiniger of Company F of the Third Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry died. On the seventh of August [September?] a parade of the division was to be held, but a continuous rain that day prevented it. On the 8th we had brigade drill. From the 8th to the 21st of September nothing particular happened. On September 22 came marching orders. We left that same day. On the 23rd we entered Vicksburg. On the 24th we marched to the landing and boarded the steamboat Metropolitan. By noon, embarkation was completed, and immediately the boat steamed up the Mississippi and landed at Memphis, Tennessee, on the 28th of September. On the 29th we marched to a parade with a band leading us. We marched through the city to the railroad depot. On the 30th we went by rail to Corinth, Mississippi. We passed Germantown, Grand

Junction, Lagrange, Bunkahuntes, and other towns. From the 1st to the 7th of October we remained in the barracks near Corinth.

On October 7 came marching orders and now a new great whirl was about to begin. That day, October 7, our division, under General Osterhaus left Corinth, Mississippi, and camped three miles out. On the 9th of October we marched and reached Brownsville and Youca on the evening of the 10th. On this route all the railroads as well as all the bridges were destroyed. From the 10th to the 15th of October we camped at Youca. On the 16th we went on to the station at Deer Creek, where we were paid. On the afternoon of the 19th at four o'clock we broke camp and marched one and a half miles farther. On the 20th we went on. On the 21st we reached Dixey Station, Alabama, where we camped. On the 22nd our brigade was attacked by the enemy. The Rebels had Union uniforms, thereby confusing our troops. The 30th Ohio Regiment lost its colonel, who was killed, as also several other officers and sixty men. On the 23rd of October everything was quiet again. On the night of the 24th our outposts were shot at. On the 25th, it being a Sunday, all guns had to be discharged, and a general inspection of arms of the whole division followed. At four o'clock on the morning of the 26th of October we marched. At six o'clock the enemy outposts were captured, and our brigade was ordered to open the engagement and at once formed the battle line. Our battery sent a few shells into the forest and our infantry moved forward, but the enemy would not fight, but withdrew. On October 27 we marched to Tuscumbia, Alabama, where we found a few moving bands which we dispersed. On October 28 we marched eighteen miles and by evening came to our former camp at Dixey Station, Alabama. On the 29th we were again attacked. Our brigade remained in battle line all day but no engagement occurred, and in the evening we returned to our camp. On the 30th of October we marched toward the Tennessee River, but were constantly molested by the rebel cavalry. However, a few charges of grapeshot from our guns kept the bands at a safe distance. On the 31st of October we reached the Tennessee River at Ostport, Alabama. We camped a mile from

there. We were still pursued by enemy cavalry and had to endure several nightly attacks, during which the 12th Missouri and the 17th Missouri suffered several men killed and others wounded. On the evening of the 31st we were paid. On the 1st of November we rested the whole day and all remained quiet. On the 2nd of November, in the evening, all troops of the division were taken across the Tennessee River by boat, and in the morning of the third the march was continued to Warsaw, and nine miles farther where we camped. On the 4th and 5th we went on to Silver Creek, and the 6th to Florence, Alabama, on the Tennessee River. On the 7th we went on and spent the night in a forest. A thunderstorm came up that night and the lightning killed six men of the 76th Ohio Regiment who had stood under a large oak. On the 8th we went on to a place called Seven Hills. On the 9th we reached Pulasky, Alabama. On the 10th we went on and camped five miles from Taylorville. On the 11th to Fayetteville, through which we passed. Our Third Regiment was on guard to prevent plundering. My friend Henry Hinzman and I had a fine dinner with an American. He was for the South, but his mother was a patriotic Union lady. On the 12th we reached New Market, went through it, and camped four miles farther on. On the 13th we reached Masonville, Alabama. Another division was already in camp. On the 14th of November to Larguiville, Tennessee, and camped there. On the 15th we reached Bellefontaine, on the 16th Steveson, on the 17th Bridgeport, where we rested on the 18th and 19th. On the 20th we again crossed the Tennessee River, this time over a pontoon bridge. On the 21st it rained the whole day. We camped near the saltpeter mines. On the 22nd we went on. In the distance we could hear the thunder of cannon. On the 23rd we went on and then camped four miles from Chattanooga, Tennessee. The thunder of cannons became stronger. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 24th of November we marched. Now we went on the double to Lookout Mountain at Chattanooga, Tennessee. Here we remained for an hour and were taken across a creek. Now the steep, high mountain was scaled on all sides. It was not an easy task and not much fun. If one took a step forward he slipped back two. It

took more than four hours before we had climbed half way up the mountain. At three o'clock in the afternoon we were in the enemy trenches. If the enemy had exercised some degree of precaution, we would not have gotten up the mountain. In spite of a violent rainstorm that afternoon the battle went on. From the high mountain we could see clearly the movements of the enemy as well as those of our troops. The cannon and rifle fire was fearful. Farther and farther the enemy was pushed back. The battle line extended twenty miles. Until four o'clock in the afternoon we were idle spectators and had not fired a shot. But we, too, were to have our share in the battle. At this time the enemy had thrown a strong force against us in order to drive us off the mountain. We were well protected and knew the game, so we let Johnny Reb approach within a hundred paces and then gave them hot fire. The effect was the same as we had seen at Arkansas Post and Vicksburg. There was death and destruction in the ranks of the enemy. After a few more salvos of the same sort, those who were still alive ran in wild flight. The night put an end to the slaughter. That night we spent in our trenches, wet to the skin, without fire, and hungry without anything to eat. These things are a part of the experience of a soldier. On the 25th the sun rose gloriously, and the air on the high mountain was pure and fine as in paradise. We were able to see clearly the Tennessee River, Chattanooga, and the whole battle line. The scene was unforgettable. During the forenoon it became quite warm, so that our clothes soon dried on our bodies. At ten o'clock we marched from Lookout Mountain to Missionary Ridge. In all directions the pursuit of the enemy was continued. In the afternoon at four o'clock, a brigade of the enemy, consisting of 500 men, was cut off from its regiment and was taken prisoner, and some cannons were captured. In the morning at 9 o'clock on the 27th, we reached Ringold, Georgia, where the Rebs had again entrenched and fortified themselves. Our division moved in immediately but could not accomplish anything since our batteries had not yet come up. By noon the cannons had taken a position and we started again. Our brigade held the front. The 17th Missouri and the 76th Ohio Regiments had to execute a flanking movement. On an open field, how-

ever, they ran into such a fierce crossfire that they had to fall back. They lost five killed and twenty wounded. The 12th Missouri and 29th Missouri also tried a flanking movement but with the same result. The 12th lost five officers and sixty men, and the 29th lost its flag. From the front we could not do anything, for they had all the heights fortified and well manned. Only by flanking movements could the enemy be dislodged from this position. The 28th and 29th and 30th of November we remained in our position at Ringold without the situation changing materially. Day after day there was cannonading and maneuvering, but nothing was accomplished. On December 1 the pursuit of the enemy was discontinued, and we marched back to Chattanooga, Tennessee. The next day we rested there. On the third we paraded with music through the city, and camped ten miles from Chattanooga by a creek. On the 4th and 5th we marched, and on the 6th of December we came to Bridgeport, Alabama, where we camped. From the 6th to the 20th of December we remained in camp at Bridgeport and were not molested by the enemy. On the 21st we were again on the march. On the 21st we moved on, and on the 23rd reached Steveson. On the 24th we advanced to within a few miles of Bellefountain where we camped. On the 25th we passed through Bellefountain and reached Scottsborow on the 27th, on the 28th Languisville, and on the 29th of December Woodville, Alabama, when our P. Osterhaus Division went into winter camp. So ended the year 1863.

—1864—

In our winter camp at Woodville, Alabama, we made ourselves as comfortable as was possible under the conditions and circumstances. The weather for this season, in January, was rather mild and pleasant, although a few days were cool and some snow fell, which, however, disappeared at once. From the 1st to the 31st of January we remained in camp and amused ourselves with drills of company, regiment, brigade, and division. Also the beloved dress parade was not lacking. From the first of February to the fourth of May the picture was changed. During this entire time we were always on the

road, going now here, now there. For a change we took two walks of eighty miles to Chattanooga and back again to our old camp at Woodville, Alabama, during this period. What all this running about meant and what its purpose was, was never explained to me. We were left unmolested by the enemy during this time.

Our spring campaign was to start on May 4. On the aforesaid day we left our camp at Woodville, Alabama, and on well-known roads to Chattanooga, passed the well-known towns of Scottsborow, Bellefountain, Steveson, Bridgeport, and crossed the Tennessee River at Shellmount. We went farther and on the seventh arrived safe for the fifth time at Chattanooga, Tennessee. Again we marched, in parade, through Chattanooga, but this time without music. We went still farther, where at a certain place we left all excess baggage, and camped at Chicamauga Creek. On May 8th we passed through the little town of Willa and marched till 9 o'clock that evening. On May 9 we came to Resacca, Georgia. We camped a few miles from this place. Johnny Reb had again entrenched and fortified himself. So a good campaign was in prospect for us. Our division that night remained on the road and waited for what might be in store. On the 10th of May our brigade formed in battle line and remained in this position that day and the whole night. On the 11th of May it rained the whole day and night so that nothing could be done except dig trenches for cover. On the 12th our position was changed and our brigade came to the front. The enemy had fortified himself on the hills and caused us much damage, and we could not do anything to him. When night came we had to seek coverage and protection behind a hill. On the morning of the 13th of May we again went into our position, where we were exposed to enemy rifle fire without the least protection. This had to be changed at any cost. The Reds had to be dislodged from the hill. Our German battery was brought forward, and it shelled the hill thoroughly. Under the protection of our cannon fire our 3rd Missouri Regiment and a few companies of the 12th Missouri undertook an attack on the hill. We had to pass over part of an open field, where we were exposed to the enemy rifle fire, but we paid no attention

to it. Forward we went on the double up the hill and drove the enemy down the hill and into flight. Then, however, an enemy cannonade was opened against us in order to drive down the hill again. However, we held our ground. It was all the same to us whether we died here or some other place. The shells exploded in front and behind us. The whole hill was soon enveloped in fire. Still we did not yield. If we had yielded, it would have been sure death for us. Therefore, we preferred to die or conquer on the hill. It was a real miracle that during the half-hour cannonade no one was seriously injured. As we held our hill and would not yield, our German battery came galloping up the hill. Quickly the cannon were put in position and loaded, and the six cannon thundered simultaneously at the enemy. The effect was devastating. Three enemy cannons were blasted high up into the air. After the second shot the enemy was silenced, and a hearty "Hurrah" rang out. We were the victors. At twelve o'clock in the night we were relieved. On the 15th of May our brigade was put in reserve. It was Pentecost Sunday. During these days the enemy was outflanked. A fearful cannonade came from all directions. It lasted the whole day till late into the night. During the night of the 15th and 16th of May the enemy had withdrawn. From Resacca to Atlanta, Georgia, about 80 miles it was a continuous battle and slaughter. On the 17th our division marched through Resacca, Georgia. In the afternoon we crossed the Kaosaw River, and the pursuit of the enemy continued. The whole army marched simultaneously but by different roads. Our division had the extreme right wing. From the center was heard heavy cannon fire. On May 18 we came to the little town of Addiersville. Here the whole army corps came together again. All were in good spirits. Our division had a short rest near this town, and several army corps marched past us. In the afternoon at four o'clock our 15th Corps also marched, and at 9 o'clock in the night it came into camp. On the 19th of May we expected a battle at Kingston, but the enemy had withdrawn still farther. On May 20, 21 and 22, our 15th Corps rested at Kingston, Georgia. On the 23rd our corps marched on the road to Dallas. At noon on the 24th we came to the little

town of Vanverdee. While fighting continuously, our corps reached Dallas on the evening of May 25. Here we camped. Our brigade on this day was in reserve, and our 15th Corps had the extreme right wing. The enemy had again fortified himself on a high mountain, known as Lost Mountain. Again flanking marches had to be executed in order to drive him out of this stronghold. Before such flanking marches could be carried out, often many days passed. The center had to try to occupy the enemy during this time with all sorts of maneuvers. While doing this we, as a rule, had a rough time of it. So the 25th, 26th and 27th of May passed. Our division had a dangerous position. We were in an open field where we could be raked by the cannon and rifle fire of the enemy and indeed were vigorously peppered by him. But during the night we dug trenches for our protection. There was digging and shooting day and night. In the far distance as well as close by there was cannonading, and so it was along the whole line, as if all elements were in rebellion, and as if the world was coming to an end. So it went on from early morning till into the night. On May 28th in the afternoon between four and five o'clock, the enemy made a despairing charge against our division. Since we were protected in our trenches, and too often had participated in this sort of maneuver, we were prepared for any eventuality. We were in a four-tier echelon and stood man to man. So we let Johnny Reb come within one hundred paces, and each one took good aim at his man. Open cannon fire spewed from a thousand rifles. The effect and result which this salvo had, I leave to the imagination of my readers. I am not able to describe it further. There lay before us a heap of human beings, one over the other, writhing in their blood. It was terrible. Of course, those who were still alive fled hastily. Since this attack of the enemy came so quickly that our outposts did not have time to return to our regiment, they were also shot by us. Gottlieb Lau of Company F was killed that way. The night passed quietly, however, there was no thought of sleep. We remained in our trenches, guns loaded and at hand all the time. On the 29th of May Fritz Grether of Company F was killed by a flanking shot. In that same night, May 29, between 11 and 12 o'clock, they made

a charge in the moonlight, but this time were again repelled. Our German battery had taken a position somewhat to our side of our rifle pits and could render us good assistance. With canister and shrapnel they swept the field so that the earth trembled. Our rifles did not cease firing till daybreak. This night was the hardest that we had to endure during the war. On the 30th everything was relatively quiet. On May 31 two regiments of the 16th Corps made an attack on the enemy and were successful. These regiments were armed with 16-shooters and drove the enemy out of his main position. Our troops took possession of these positions. On June 1 the station of our division was changed and assigned to the center, where we arrived in the afternoon. On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th we had rest there. It rained almost incessantly every other day so that our rags rotted on our bodies.

On June 5, in the morning, came marching orders, and we set out at once. The enemy had again given up his position and withdrawn. On the 6th we passed through the small town of Ackworth, where we camped a few days. At this town the 17th Corps joined the rest of the army. On the 9th the marching orders came again, but we did not go. On the 10th, however, we did set out, and by noon we again faced the enemy who had fortified himself on a high chain of mountains, called Kennesaw Mountain. Our division again had the front. We maneuvered the whole day to feel out and locate the enemy. Trenches were dug at once. We took a position in front of Kennesaw Mountain. In the afternoon we left our first position and during the night more trenches were dug. The night passed quietly. On June 12 we remained in our position, and the enemy made no further attack on us.

On the 13th we were relieved by the Second Brigade of our division. On the 14th our cannons kept up a lively fire at the enemy trenches, otherwise everything was quiet. On the morning of June 15 our brigade again assumed the front. At noon we had to advance and take a better position in order to reach the enemy more effectively. This was accomplished with no great losses, though we did have a few killed and others wounded. Immediately we went to work to dig trenches in an open field. In this sort of work we had acquired a fair pro-

ficiency. In addition to his rifle each soldier had a shovel, an ax, and other tools. Alternately these tools were carried and used. Like moles each one dug himself into the ground, and in an hour a broad ditch had been dug. Here necessity taught one to work. On the 16th of June we kept up a lively riflefire on the enemy, firing from our trenches. In return we got a rather sharp fire from the flank, so that we had to make new trenches. This had to be done on an open field, under fairly sharp riflefire. We succeeded without too great a loss. Some of our men kept the enemy in check by continuous fire, while the others dug so that the perspiration ran down their backs. In less than an hour a long trench of several miles had been dug, and we were protected on all sides.

On the 17th of June, Carl Guthman of Company F, 3rd Regiment was severely wounded by an enemy bullet, while drinking coffee in the trench. On the 18th Fred Roediker, also of Company F, was killed by a shot from the flank. On the evening of that same day, a sham attack against the enemy was made. Our artillery kept up a fearful cannonade on the enemy defences in order to give another division of our corps the opportunity to secure a better position. This was accomplished without great loss. The evening was beautiful and at sunset all firing ceased. A band played a serenade which was heard far in the mountains. After the first piece, Johnny Reb, high up in the mountain, expressed his pleasure by giving three lusty hurrahs. The band played two more pieces, and a general hurrah followed on both sides. That night our brigade was released and replaced by another. During this night the enemy withdrew farther into the Kennesaw Mountain. On the 19th of June the second division took the front position, and our first division followed. It rained on this day incessantly, but the enemy was continuously pursued. Our brigade camped that day in the enemy defenses. On June 20 our outposts kept up a lively riflefire till noon. At five o'clock in the afternoon the 14th Corps made a terrific and successful charge on the enemy. Much blood was shed. Twice our troops were repulsed, but the third charge succeeded in storming the enemy breastwork. Both sides were engaged in hand-to-hand combat, using bayonets and riflebutts. How many

were lost is not known to me. On the 21st it rained again all day. Nothing of importance happened this day. On the 22nd of June the enemy opened a terrific cannonade against the 17th Corps which had attacked the enemy's flank. Our artillery paid back in coin, and the cannonade continued till noon. A sharp rifle fire could also be heard from the distance as proof that there was a hot engagement. At noon the firing ceased, perhaps to give each side an opportunity to eat its meager dinner. In the afternoon the cannonade was revived, accompanied by rifle fire, which continued till the darkness of night put an end to the slaughter. What was the result on both sides is not known to me. On June 23 everything was relatively quiet. Same was true on our front on the 24th. In the evening our outposts made an attack in order to determine the strength of the enemy. They met fierce resistance, and many splendid boys did not see the dawn of the next morning again. On the morning of the 25th it was in general quiet, but at nine o'clock the enemy again opened a cannonade on our works, but little damage was done. On June 26, it being Pentecost Sunday, it was quiet on the whole line. Not a single shot was heard. It seemed as if all were getting ready to go to church. On the enemy's side, also, not a shot was fired. In the evening our division marched to the right wing. In the morning of the 27th an attack was made by the second and the fourth divisions of the 15th Corps on the enemy defenses, but they were repulsed with great loss. More than a thousand men were left out there, so it was reported. In the evening our division again had to endure a cannonade from the enemy, but no great havoc was done. No one was killed or wounded. On the 29th of June our division had its position in an open field near the mountain. Of course, we had to dig trenches that night for our protection. The enemy bombarded us incessantly the whole day from the mountain. As by a miracle, no one was killed or wounded. In this position we remained on June 30 and July 1 without serious loss. In the evening a cannonade from our guns began to shell the enemy. The latter answered in kind. Darkness made an end to this game. On July 2 came a continuation [of the cannonade] of the previous day and lasted uninterruptedly the whole day until darkness and night put a stop to it.

In the afternoon our division received orders to march. But this order was not carried out. During the night of the 2nd to the 3rd of July, the enemy had withdrawn and abandoned Kennesaw Mountain. On July 3 our division marched to Marietta and stayed there that day. On July 4 we went farther to the right wing and in the afternoon came to the 23rd Corps, where we at once joined in the fight. There were five army corps collected here in order to crush the enemy by one blow. However, the plan failed because Johnny Reb was too smart to risk a battle. On July 5 our division again marched back to our former position and remained there as reserves. On the 6th we marched close to the enemy position and camped there. The seventh was quiet. On the 8th in the afternoon, we took position in front of the enemy at the Chattahoochee River. Immediately trenches were dug, and we remained there on the 9th. During the night of the 9th to the 10th of July, the enemy had withdrawn over the Chattahoochee River. Some divisions pursued the enemy. Our division remained this day in its position. On the 11th of July everything was quiet. In the evening of the 12th our division marched to Marietta, Georgia. On the 13th [marched] through Marietta and rested a few miles from there that afternoon till four o'clock. At five, still farther on the road toward Rossville. On the 14th six miles farther and then we rested. At five o'clock in the afternoon we went farther, and at seven o'clock we marched through Rossville and crossed the Chattahoochee River. A few miles from the river we camped for the night. At Rossville were a few factories which were at once set on fire. That night it rained very hard. In the morning the sun shone brightly and cheerily so that our wet rags soon dried on our bodies. Our division had the front [position] again on July 15, immediately took position, and dug trenches. On the 16th we remained in our trenches and were not molested that day. On the 17th of July we marched the whole day, making ten miles. We also marched on the 18th and on the 19th and reached Decatur, Georgia. The second division had a small engagement here. Our first division did not see action.

The Campaign Before Atlanta, Georgia

On July 20 we appeared before Atlanta, which was strongly fortified. Our 15th Army Corps at once took its position and all troops went at once to the location assigned to them. The enemy was driven inside his fortifications. There was maneuvering and fighting the whole day. At midnight we dug again in a ceaseless rain. On the 22nd of July began the siege. Step by step the enemy was driven back. The night passed rather quietly, but no one thought of sleep and rest. On the 22nd the enemy had left his outer defenses, and our outposts held them occupied. That same day the enemy made a strong attack on our 17th Corps, and two divisions were defeated and had to leave six cannons in the lurch. This was a good beginning for Johnny Reb. Our brigade was sent on the double-quick as reinforcement, but we came too late. Things had already happened, and the Union general McPherson had been killed. A larger body of troops was sent there and the enemy was again driven back. Toward evening the enemy made another charge upon our center but was beaten back with great losses. So the battle surged back and forth on this day on a thirty-mile front. How many fell on both sides on this day, and what was the gain and loss, is not known to me. It was simply a slaughter and murdering on both sides. It was said that the enemy lost some 5000 men, a general, and ten cannons. On the 23rd the dead on both sides were buried, and the wounded cared for. Our brigade was ordered back to its position in the evening, and remained there on the 24th and 25th. During these days no engagement of any consequence took place. On July 26 our division left its position during the night and marched to the right wing. The enemy had observed our movement and sent a few shells after us as a farewell. We paid no attention to them. On the 27th we marched farther to the right wing and around our entire army the whole day and half of the night. On the morning of the 28th we took the position. Since there was no more time to dig and as we needed protection, we had to find other means. In the neighborhood stood an old log schoolhouse. This schoolhouse was torn down, which was the work of half an

hour, the breastwork was set up, and the protection for our regiment was completed. All the regiments in the division followed our example. Whatever was at hand, was used, and so a breastwork of three miles in length was completed in an hour. When we had just finished with this work and had lain down on the ground behind this protection, there came one volley after the other from the enemy rifles, and splashed against our logs as if it hailed. We were, however, prepared and had experienced this sort of thing before. So we let Johnny Reb come a little closer. All at once we gave fire, and in a quarter of an hour nothing was heard of the enemy. We did not allow ourselves to be deceived and kept on shooting as fast and as low as we could. This rifle fire soon extended along our entire front. From 11 o'clock in the forenoon till dark, this fire was kept up. It had been the intention of the enemy to break through our line at one point and then to destroy us. Our artillery also rendered excellent service on this day. Canister and grapeshot were hurled from our guns into the enemy rank the whole day. In a word, it was again a slaughter. As we later heard from prisoners, our fire was terrible, so that they had great respect for our batteries. In our Third Missouri Regiment no one was injured. How many fell on this day is unknown to me. Since on our side the whole line had coverage, it is to be assumed that of our men not many fell. The night passed rather quietly, but we worked all night like ants on our trenches and defenses. The morning of the 29th was glorious. The sun rose brightly, and not a cloud was to be seen. We stayed in our position that day and were not attacked by the enemy. On the 30th our division was released by a division of the 17th corps, and we marched one mile back, where we remained as reserves. On the 31st of July and the 1st of August our division had rest but was ready on a minute's notice. Our artillery had taken position and bombarded the enemy's fortification, but the latter gave little answer, only now and then a shot, to show that he was still there. In the morning of August 2 everything was relatively quiet in our position. At noon a part of our brigade was ordered to dig trenches. On the 3rd of August our Third Missouri Regiment was ordered to the second division as protection. This divi-

sion was to make an attack and bayonet charge. But this charge was not carried out since Johnny Reb had got wind of our intention and was prepared. Since no attack was made on our part, the enemy opened a terrific cannonade on us. We protected ourselves so no great damage was done. At dusk we returned to our old position and remained there that night. On August 4 our Third Missouri Regiment was relieved by the 25th Iowa Regiment and served as reserves. From the 5th to the 10th nothing of importance happened. Of course, there was shooting from dawn to dusk on the whole twenty-mile line. On the 11th at daybreak the enemy opened a fierce cannonade, which lasted about three hours. Our artillery did not answer, but everyone was at his post, infantry and artillery, ready and expectant of the events that might eventuate. However, nothing came. Everything remained quiet during the day and also during the night. On the 12th some prisoners, who voluntarily had allowed themselves to be captured, came through our lines. On the 14th we old warriors of the 3rd, 12th, and 17th Missouri regiments were ordered as protection for the 4th Ohio Battery, which had its position before strong breastworks of the enemy. But there was no bombardment. So we again marched back to our old lice-infested trenches. These trenches and breastworks were full of lice which marched just as well as we soldiers did. Indeed it was no wonder. For months we had no time to take a real bath, much less to wash our shirts. Even though we sometimes had a day without action and could rest a bit, no one dared to undress for he might have to fall in any minute, so it was but natural that all troops were infected with lice, and that our rags stuck to our skin. On the 15th everything was quiet. On the 16th in the evening, our Third Missouri Regiment was ordered to the front but was immediately recalled. On the 17th there was maneuvering. In the afternoon a sham bayonet charge was made to allow other troops to make an attack. In the evening back to the trenches. On the 18th, 19th, and 20th nothing of importance happened. On the 21st of August a general bombardment along the whole line, lasting the whole day and into the night. We of the infantry were idle spectators on this day. The enemy returned the fire only occasionally. On the

22nd the bombardment was continued from morning till one o'clock noon. On the 23rd our brigade was ordered to the front but immediately withdrawn again. On the 24th it was again relatively quiet. We marched on the 25th. On the 26th our Third Missouri Regiment was the guard of the ordinance train which was a few miles back in the camp. That same day Companies A and B said goodbye to the Third Missouri Regiment, as their time of service had expired, and went back home to St. Louis, Missouri. That same day the ordinance train was ordered a few miles farther back. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th we stayed with the train. This time came in good stead for us to rid ourselves of the lice. We were, one and all, officers as well as privates, terribly infected with lice. On August 30 we marched to the Macon Railroad. On the 31st of August Johnny Reb made a desperate attack on our troops in an effort to break through our lines at various places but was everywhere repulsed with heavy losses. Many prisoners were made by us and many rifles and cannons were captured. On September 1 the enemy tried the same thing again but was everywhere thrown back with great losses. Thousands of dead and wounded were left on the field. Our generals planned to surround Atlanta completely, but at this time that was not done. Another army corps was needed to do this, and such was not available. So the enemy had a way out. On September 1 there occurred many explosions and in the evening the city was as bright as day, due to the many fires. Our cannons had set many houses on fire during these days, and others had been set on fire by the enemy himself, in order that nothing should fall into our hands.

During the night of September 2 to 3 the enemy had abandoned Atlanta and made his get-away leaving all his dead and wounded on the battlefield. During the forenoon of September 4th all the troops along a twenty-mile front were engaged in burying the dead, Union as well as Confederate, and carrying the wounded to hospitals. The battlefield presented a gruesome sight. By the thousands young, and once strong, men lay all around, not to awaken again. During the last days the enemy had suffered terrible losses, as the dead and wounded amply indicated. Many had already begun to

decay. It required several days to bury all of them and to clean the battlefield. After the clean-up our division marched through Atlanta, Georgia. Before the siege it had been a beautiful, rich city, but now it was to be regarded as a heap of ashes. Here and there a house or a hut still stood but almost all were damaged. Our division entered a camp beside a creek a few miles out of Atlanta. All the army corps entered various camps for rest and new equipment. Whether the enemy was pursued I do not know.

Since now the time of service of four companies of the Third Missouri, six companies of the 12th and eight companies of the 17th Turner Regiment had expired, therefore by general orders on September 10 it was asked, who desired to re-enlist for the duration of the war. All concerned, on the quiet, took counsel and agreed to ask for our discharge. This was done by officers and privates since there were enough troops in the field, and the enemy's power had been broken completely, and within a short time peace would be restored. Moreover, we had enough of this sort of thing for the time being. So we applied for our discharge. This was granted without any hesitation, and on September 17 our discharges were all made out. On September 18 we took leave from our true and good comrades at Atlanta and traveled by rail to Chattanooga, Nashville, Louisville, Kentucky, and at eleven o'clock in the morning arrived at East St. Louis, Illinois. Here a short rest was observed. Then we marched to the ferryboat and crossed the Mississippi. As we landed we were greeted by a band that played, "Hail Columbia." At the levee we stood in rank and file. Our Colonel Meuman was in command of all the companies. Since we had our tattered Missouri flag with us, I had to unfurl it. The 12th Missouri companies had the Stars and Stripes, so we formed a good sized regiment. The 17th Turner Regiment formed another. We were all in rank and file as our colonel, on horseback, gave the command, "Forward, March!" The band and drums began to play and we went in parade march, "Right shoulder, shift arms," through the streets of St. Louis, first to the headquarters of the Department of Missouri. There we presented arms and saluted the General Provost Marshal. From there we marched to the arsenal.

On the march there the thousands of people on the streets greeted us with a thundering, "Hurrah!" At Fourth Street and Market we two ensigns were each presented wreaths of flowers by young ladies. Also Colonel Meuman received a wreath. In the arsenal all rifles and shell cases, as also the flags were surrendered to the Commandant. After this was done we again formed in rank and file. Led by the band we marched to Washington Hall, at Third and Elm, where an elegant meal waited for us. Naturally, there was wine and beer there in abundance. We paid these things our due respect. Who ordered and paid for all these things I do not know. Since we were not yet mustered out and did not yet have our discharges, we were still soldiers, and no one was allowed to leave his company without permission. In the evening we again fell in and marched to the arsenal, but this time without music. There we remained four days and did night work. On September 27th our Colonel Meuman came to the arsenal. We fell in and marched to headquarters at Third and Locust, where we received our honorable discharges and were paid off. So ended my entire time of service as a soldier in the Union Army of the United States of America, and I was again a free man.

Since the war had not completely come to an end, volunteer soldiers were still recruited. However, few volunteered. So the draft was made use of, that is, whoever was sound and eighteen years old was simply taken and put in a uniform, unless he volunteered, and was incorporated in any one of the regiments of the army. If one wished to escape the draft he had to buy a substitute, which cost him \$1000 to \$1500. There were few such substitutes, and such could be found only among the discharged soldiers. Whoever had participated in the war from the beginning with all its hardships, had enough of this sort of thing for a while. Moreover, it was a sort of disgrace for an old soldier to sell himself for base money. I was requested several times but turned it down firmly. So I had ample opportunity to participate to the end of the war as a soldier and enlist once more. However, from personal observation I know that there were enough soldiers in the field to bring the war to an early end. More-

over, the power of the enemy was broken, there was no hope for him to win, and the Union would soon rule over the entire Confederacy. So I preferred to remain a free man for a while. Conditions had changed very much in the country during these years. Trade and commerce flourished. Work could be had in any branch, and workers were sought but could not be found. So I had ample time and opportunity to consider what I wanted to do in the future. There are many things, amusing as well as sad, that could be told about my war experience. However, this short report will suffice to show all who read this what war really is, and what it has cost to restore and preserve our glorious Union of America. Union forever!!

Man should not hate. Life is too short. If he is offended, he should forgive from his heart. How many on earth have declared against each other, who now make peace with one another deep under the ground.

Received from the U. S. Paymaster at various times and places during my entire time of service from April 22, 1861, to September 27, 1864.....	\$681.20
Extra bounty.....	100.00
Excess in money for clothes.....	25.20
Total.....	\$806.40
Government allowance for uniform and other clothing (\$3.50 per month), from September 3, 1861, to September 27, 1864, for 37 months @ \$3.50.....	\$129.50
Used.....	104.30
Excess cash received.....	\$25.20
During my entire time of service I saved.....	\$630.00

MISSOURI AND THE WAR

PART XVI

THE HOME FRONT IN RURAL MISSOURI
DURING WORLD WAR IIBY GERARD SCHULTZ¹

Successive major wars of modern history have affected an ever increasing number of people. Modern war demands that the armed forces fight, but to have any chance to win over the enemy, civilians must supply them with vast quantities of war matériel. The urgent demands of World War II brought many changes, such as those in population, in agricultural and mineral production, and in governmental control and regulation; Missouri is no exception to this rule.

In 1914 the rural population of the State received the news of the beginning of World War I "almost incredulously, much as if it came from another world."² Many looked upon that war as an explosion that seemingly lay entirely outside of the United States. By 1939, however, modern communication had done much to break down the isolation of rural localities. In 1939 the rural classes listened to the radio in their homes, stores, garages, and other places of business to hear the war news broadcasts from London, Paris, Berlin, and Warsaw. Although some rural editors insisted firmly against American participation in the war, the prevailing belief was that the United States would finally be drawn into the conflict.

¹GERARD SCHULTZ, a native Missourian, received an A.B. degree from Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, in 1925, and an A.M. degree from the University of Minnesota in 1928. He was a teaching fellow at the latter institution in 1925 and 1927, instructor in the University of Missouri summer sessions at Rolla, instructor at Iberia Junior College, 1926, 1928-1944, and is at present instructor in rural sociology in the University of Missouri at Columbia. He has published articles and books, including *A History of Miller County, Missouri*, and *Early History of the Northern Ozarks*.

The data for this article was collected during his research for the Agricultural Extension Division of the University of Missouri, 1944-1945. A research bulletin by him for that division, "Some Effects of World War II on Rural Life in Missouri," is now in press.

²*Lamar Democrat*, September 5, 1939.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, had a unifying effect never before experienced in a war that involved the State. The editor of a country weekly in a rural county in Missouri with a large percentage of its population of German origin wrote in the issue of his newspaper on December 11, 1941:

Expressions of loyalty to the President and hatred for the Japanese and Hitler are heard on every hand here . . . while there seemed to be some difference of opinion before the outbreak of hostilities as to the government's foreign policy, the Jap attack has apparently served only to unite everybody in the common aim to win the war, no matter what the cost.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's message to Congress on December 8 of the same week was given a prominent place on the front page of the newspaper.³ Two weeks later the editor reported that the "people are listening to war reports and talking about them these days to the exclusion of almost everything else, Christmas included."⁴

With the unexpected collapse of France early in the summer of 1940, the national defense program of the United States began in earnest. The building of ships, army posts, naval bases, and factories for the production of war matériel brought a continuously growing demand for workers, with the result that thousands of families or individual members of families migrated from Missouri farms and villages to centers of defense industries. In this migration the number of persons who left the state exceeded the number who entered it. The estimated net loss in the population of the state as a result of civilian migration during the three and one-half years between April 1, 1940, and November 1, 1943, was 116,916.⁵

³*Unterrified Democrat* (Linn), December 11, 1941.

⁴*Ibid.*, December 25, 1941.

⁵This figure was obtained by adding the natural increase for the period, 112,101, to the civilian population as of April 1, 1940, 3,783,666, and then subtracting the net loss to the armed forces up to November 1, 1943, 256,836. Since the resulting figure is larger than the 1943 civilian population, which was 3,524,790, as estimated by the number of ration book registrations on November 1, 1943, it is estimated that the out-migration amounted to the difference, 258,876.

The best available estimates of population changes since 1940 are obtained from the Bureau of the Census, and are based on the number of sugar and food

The distribution of the population within the state also underwent changes. During the period from April 1, 1940, to November 1, 1943, seven counties and the city of St. Louis gained in civilian population. Four of these counties—St. Louis, St. Charles, Jackson, and Clay—were large centers of war industries. In two counties, Phelps and Pulaski, the increase was due to the employment and business opportunities created by the building of Fort Leonard Wood. Mississippi County, which experienced only a small increase in the civilian population, is located in an expanding agricultural area in which the population was growing rapidly prior to the war. In 107 counties the civilian population declined, of which in 92 the loss exceeded ten per cent of the prewar population. The heaviest losses occurred in the Ozark region where ten counties had losses in excess of 25 per cent.⁶

In 1920, when the United States Census showed the farm population separately for the first time, the farm population of Missouri was 1,207,899.⁷ By 1930 the farm population had declined to 1,108,969,⁸ but as a result of the serious industrial depression during the early 1930's, it increased to 1,183,499 as of January 1, 1935.⁹ However, after 1935 the general downward trend in the size of the farm population of Missouri continued, reaching 1,118,644 in 1940.¹⁰ During the war the farm population of the State fell to approximately a million.¹¹

rations books issued on March 1, 1943, and on November 1, 1943. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Population, Special Reports*, "Estimates of the Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: March 1, 1943," Series P-3, No. 38, Table III, p. 13; "Estimated Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: November 1, 1943," Series P-44, No. 3, Table III, p. 16. The total civilian loss between April 1, 1940, and March 1, 1943, was 207,932, or a loss of 5.5%.

⁶*Ibid.*, "Estimated Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: November 1, 1943," Series P-44, No. 3, Table III, p. 16.

⁷U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Vol. II: *Characteristics of the Population*, Part IV, Table I, p. 9.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *The Rural Population Resources of Missouri* (Research Bulletin No. 306, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri), p. 6.

¹⁰*Sixteenth Census, 1940*, Vol. II: *Characteristics of the Population*, Part IV, Table I, p. 9.

¹¹The decrease in the farm population was largely a result of inductions into the armed forces and also a result of migration from farms to areas of war activity.

The military draft also brought a heavy impact upon the rural population. On September 16, 1940, Congress passed the Selective Service and Training Act. Within a month all preparations for the first registration were completed, and on October 16, 1940, 446,219 men in Missouri between the ages of 21 and 35, inclusive, registered for possible military service.¹² Within a month after registration, local Selective Service boards started the first men on their way to the army. Four other registration days were announced—July 1, 1941, for men who had reached the age of 21 since the first registration; February 16, 1942, for men between the ages of 20 and 44, inclusive, who had not been listed previously; April 27, 1942, for men between the ages of 45 and 65 for non-military service; and June 30, 1942, for men between 18 and 20, inclusive. Those reaching 18 during the six months from June 30 to December 31, 1942, registered between December 11-31, 1942. At the end of 1942 Missouri had a total of 784,424 living registrants for military service. Those reaching 18 after December 31, 1942, registered as they attained that age. As a result of inductions in the armed forces and also as a result of migration to areas of war activity, Missouri farms during the war were operated largely by men over 35 years of age, by women, and by youths under 18.¹³

A number of important centers of war activity were established in the rural areas of the state. The construction of the Weldon Springs Ordinance Works for the manufacture of TNT and DNT near Weldon Springs in St. Charles County was announced in October, 1940. By March, 1941, there were over 1,200 men working in constructing the plant, and by the following November the number had increased to 8,699.¹⁴ In November, 1940, the War Department announced its intention to build a large army training post in the Missouri Ozarks near the small and leisurely town of Waynesville. Construction of Fort Leonard Wood got underway almost immediately. Workers poured into the area by the thousands and by

¹²*State of Missouri, Official Manual, for Years 1943 and 1944* (Compiled and published by Dwight H. Brown, Secretary of State), p. 881.

¹³*Ibid.*, 1945-1946, p. 887.

¹⁴*St. Charles Weekly Cosmos-Monitor*, November 5, 1941.

the end of March the weekly payroll for the construction of the fort was reported to be \$1,380,000.¹⁵ The construction of Camp Crowder near Neosho was begun in August, 1941. The peak of employment was reached the week of December 20, 1941, when 21,034 were employed and the weekly payroll amounted to \$650,000.¹⁶

In time of war, farms must supply more food as well as many of the raw materials needed in the production of war matériel. To meet these needs, Missouri farmers greatly increased agricultural production reaching its wartime peak in 1944. Both in acreage planted and in crop value, corn is the leading crop in the state.¹⁷ In 1939, 126,290,000 bushels of corn were harvested from 4,281,000 acres.¹⁸ In 1944, 162,554,000 bushels of corn were harvested from 4,781,000 acres.¹⁹ A tremendous gain was made during the war in the production of beef and pork. The number of cattle marketed in 1944 was 1,520,994 as compared to 812,587 in 1939. The number of hogs marketed in 1944 was 5,623,309 as compared to 3,456,607 in 1939.²⁰ To supply the war demand for vegetable oil and protein, the production of soybeans was pushed from 1,157,000 bushels in 1939 to 10,605,000 bushels in 1944. These and other increases were partly offset by decreases in wheat, oats, barley, and cotton.²¹

As a result of higher farm prices and greater agricultural production, the total farm income in Missouri increased from \$253,333,000 in 1939 to \$682,923,000 in 1944.²² In general,

¹⁵*Pulaski County Democrat* (Waynesville), April 3, 1941.

¹⁶Lucille T. Kohler, *Neosho, Missouri, Under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation* (Columbia, Missouri: *University of Missouri Studies*, XIX, No. 4), 64.

¹⁷In 1944 the total value of all corn produced in Missouri was \$173,933,000. Hay was the second most valuable crop, the value of all tame hay raised in the state that year being \$57,785,000. See "Missouri Crop Production, 1944," Office of the Agricultural Statistician, Columbia, Missouri.

¹⁸State Department of Agriculture, *Missouri Annual Crop and Livestock Production, by Counties for a 20-Year Period, 1919-1940* (Jefferson City, Missouri: State Department of Agriculture, 1941), p. 21.

¹⁹*The Bulletin*, [Missouri State Department of Agriculture], *Missouri Farm Census by Counties for the Year Ending December 31, 1944*, p. 4.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 10.

²¹*Ibid.*, 1939, 1944.

²²Data acquired from a personal interview with Alfred C. Brittain, Agricultural Statistician, United States Department of Agriculture, Columbia, Missouri. The above figures do not include governmental payments which amounted to \$28,132,000 in 1939 and \$25,159,000 in 1944.

farm prices were more than twice as high in 1944 as in 1939. The changes in the prices of the leading crops of the state for the two comparative years are shown in the following table:²³

	Average price 1939	Average price 1944
Corn (bu.).....	\$0.54	\$1.10
Wheat (bu.).....	0.67	1.47
Oats (bu.).....	0.28	0.79
Soybeans (bu.).....	0.85	2.05
Cotton lint (lb.).....	0.08	0.21
Tame hay (ton).....	5.70	16.60

During the war the average price of Missouri farm land increased by approximately one-half compared to the average for the years from 1935 to 1939.²⁴

The large increase in agricultural production during the war was achieved in spite of acute shortages of farm labor and farm machinery. The farm labor shortage was overcome chiefly by farmers' working longer hours, by neighborhood exchanges of labor and farm machines, by using labor saving devices, and by an increase in the number of family workers. The following report is typical of many made by agricultural county extension agents in 1945:

The work that produced the best results in helping with the labor program was the encouragement of making labor-saving machinery and trading of work in different communities. Ten large power bull rakes were made that helped very much with threshing out of shocks and making hay. They were used on many more than the ten farms where they were purchased. . . . Two of these bull rakes would keep a large threshing machine in operation. Two men with one bull rake could bring in twice as much hay in a day as three men could bring in with a wagon and hay loader.²⁵

New mechanical corn pickers did much to relieve the labor shortage at the time of the corn harvest in northwest Missouri. A two-row corn picker with a crew of four men harvested an

²³Data furnished by the Office of Agricultural Statistician, Columbia, Missouri.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Agricultural Extension Service, University of Missouri, "Annual Report of Jasper County, Missouri, 1945," Virgil N. Sapp, County Agent. Unpublished records in the office of the Agricultural Extension Service, Waters Hall, Columbia, Missouri.

average of 1,000 bushels of corn per day. When corn is gathered by hand, a very good cornshucker is able to harvest about 100 bushels in a long hard day. A total of 3,600 corn pickers were used on Missouri farms in the fall of 1944.²⁶

As a result of the shortage of hired farm workers, more of the farm work throughout the state was done by the farm family. For example, on one farm a farmer's thirteen-year old son operated the tractor, his fifteen-year-old daughter operated the binder, and his wife and another daughter shocked the oats crop, while the farmer himself combined the wheat. In 1943 many business and professional men in small towns helped farmers in harvesting their crops, but this kind of farm help was far less prevalent during the last two years of war.²⁷ Prisoners of war were also used to help relieve the farm labor shortage. In 1945, 4,976 prisoners of war worked on Missouri farms.²⁸

The recruitment of full-time and seasonal laborers to supply the needs of Missouri farmers was the responsibility of the Farm Security Administration up to the spring of 1943 when it was transferred to the Agricultural Extension Service. Most of the requests for year-round farm labor came from north Missouri, while the supply was found chiefly in the Ozark counties. The total number of farm labor placements made by the Extension Service in 1944 was 21,024. Of these, 2,407 were for year-round work, while the others were for periods extending from one day to five months.²⁹ During the war farm wages in Missouri rose sharply. The monthly wage of the hired farm laborer with board rose from \$22.75 in April, 1940, to \$63.00 in April, 1945. During the same period the monthly wage without board rose from \$31.50 to \$82.00. The daily wage with board increased from \$1.10 to \$3.10,

²⁶Agricultural Extension Service, "Annual Farm Labor Report, 1944," p. 11. Unpublished records in the office of the Agricultural Extension Service.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 1943, 1944, 1945. For examples of help given by business and professional men in harvesting farm crops, see especially the report for the year 1943, pp. 20-23.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 1945, p. 13.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 1944, p. 29.

while the daily wage without board increased from \$1.40 to \$3.80 from April, 1940, to April, 1945.³⁰

A number of minerals produced in Missouri played important roles in the war. The refractory clays were in great demand for bricks, linings of boilers and furnaces, and the building of Liberty and other cargo vessels. In 1943 Missouri ranked first among the states in the production of fire clay and was the only producer of diaspore and burley clays. During the war southeast Missouri continued to be the largest lead producing area in the United States, supplying 257,145 tons, or 39 per cent of the nation's total lead output in 1943. The demand for zinc ore far exceeded its production. The federal government paid subsidies on both lead and zinc in order for the lower grade ores to be mined also. A sharp increase occurred in the demand for coal as many war plants had to convert from the burning of natural gas to the use of coal for fuel and power. The dollar value of mineral production in Missouri increased from \$51,872,163 in 1939 to \$90,993,119 in 1943.

During the war important new developments and changes occurred in mining operations: open pit methods of mining lead and zinc were introduced in the Joplin district; new properties of low grade ores in the state were developed and operated; old mines which had been abandoned were reopened and put into production. Iron Mountain in southeastern Missouri was reopened as an open pit mine. Stripping equipment was used extensively to open new coal mines. Shales in the Kansas City area were mined for use in the construction of concrete barges.³¹ The wartime demand for barite, probably better known as "tiff," resulted in mechanization of the Washington County barite area. In 1945 it was reported that 700 workers with mechanized mining equipment produced more barite than was mined a few years ago by 3,500 diggers, including women and children who worked in family groups.³²

³⁰"Missouri Farm Wage Data," tabular data supplied by the Office of the Agricultural Statistician, Columbia, Missouri.

³¹Information concerning mineral production and mining operations in Missouri during World War II was supplied by Edward L. Clark, State Geologist, Rolla, Missouri, in a letter dated September 29, 1945.

³²*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 7, 1945.

Lumbering also experienced a remarkable increase during the war. In the period immediately preceding the war the annual output of Missouri sawmills was approximately 100,000,000 board feet. In 1944 the output was about 335,000,000 board feet.³³ There was also an increase in the cutting of trees for pulpwood. Cottonwood trees growing in the alluvial soil along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers were commonly used for this purpose.³⁴

No survey of the home front in rural Missouri would be satisfactory without some mention of the activities of special war agencies and the regular agencies that aided the war effort. USDA defense boards, later known as USDA war boards, were set up in the summer of 1941 to consolidate and strengthen the farm programs for wartime tasks. Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard appointed C. W. Sheppard, then chairman of the State AAA Committee, head of the USDA defense boards in Missouri.³⁵ The boards assisted farmers in setting farm production goals, in rationing new farm machinery, and in making recommendations with respect to Selective Service deferments for farm boys.³⁶

The Agricultural Extension Service, with J. W. Burch as director, carried forward a general wartime educational program in agriculture and home economics. Greater emphasis was placed on the production, the preservation, and the utilization of food and feed, the maintenance of health and well-being, and the conservation of farm and home supplies and equipment.³⁷ An important development in vocational education in the rural field was the establishment of school canneries, introduced and supervised by teachers of vocational agriculture and vocational home economics during the summer of 1943. By 1944, 128 canning centers had been es-

³³Personal interview with Ralph Howard Peck, associate professor of forestry, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

³⁴*Missouri Ruralist* (St. Louis), May 13, 1944, p. 1.

³⁵*Missouri Farm Bureau News* (Jefferson City), July 11, 1941.

³⁶Personal interview with C. W. Sheppard, Chairman of the U. S. D. A. Defense Boards in Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

³⁷Agricultural Extension Service, *Annual Reports of the State Extension Agents, 1942, 1943, 1944, and 1945.*

tablished, 82 of which were equipped with steam retorts and power.³⁸

In spite of shortages of labor and machinery, soil conservation practices were expanded by the Soil Conservation Service during the war. The practice of liming for soil improvement increased almost five-fold. A large increase also occurred in the tonnage of commercial fertilizer used on farms. Methods of conserving and protecting the soil, such as terracing and contouring, were extended.³⁹ On the other hand, the pressure of war demands led to an increase of certain crops in areas where it was not in the best interests of soil conservation to increase them.

The Rural Electrification Administration made its first allotment of loan funds for rural electrification in Missouri in July, 1936, but it was not until August 1, 1937, that the Lewis County Cooperative Rural Electric Association energized 105 miles of line in northeast Missouri, marking the beginning of REA distribution of electricity in the state. By June 30, 1944, REA loans had been made to thirty-nine locally controlled electric-service cooperatives and to one private utility. By that time 64,700 farms in the state received central-station current as compared to 17,893 in 1935. Fifty-seven per cent of the farms receiving central-station current in 1944 were served by the Rural Electrification Administration. The shortage of labor on farms and the higher farm incomes incident to the war greatly increased the demand for electric service. The War Production Board, recognizing the importance of electricity on the farm in the production of war-needed foods, permitted the use of small amounts of scarce materials and manpower for the extension of electric lines to qualified farms.⁴⁰

³⁸Personal interview with J. H. Foard, Director, Agricultural Education, State Department of Education, Jefferson City, Missouri, December 29, 1944.

³⁹Agricultural Extension Service, "Annual Report of Soil Conservation, 1944." Unpublished records in the office of the Agricultural Extension Service.

⁴⁰Letter and enclosures from William J. Neal, Acting Administrator, Rural Electrification Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, St. Louis, Missouri, June 12, 1945.

An act of the General Assembly, approved July 2, 1941, provided for the establishment of a state council of defense.⁴¹ In accordance with this act, Governor Forrest C. Donnell issued a proclamation, October 9, 1941, creating the Missouri State Council of Defense.⁴² Hugh Stephens of Jefferson City served as administrator of the Council from October 9, 1941, until July 6, 1943, when he was succeeded by James A. Potter, also of Jefferson City. County councils of defense were organized during the winter of 1941-1942,⁴³ and by July, 1942, 400,000 volunteers had enrolled for civilian defense work. The emphasis of civilian defense in World War II was on protection for the civilian population. A state-wide trial blackout was successfully carried out on the evening of December 9, 1942, but when the threat of enemy bombers in the sky gradually vanished, interest in many defense activities declined. A number of communities entirely disregarded the second state-wide trial blackout held August 31, 1943.⁴⁴

Adequate supplies of certain waste materials were of great importance in the manufacture of war material. Scrap iron was needed to produce a high grade of steel for the implements of war which had to be manufactured in huge quantities. A number of special drives was held to stimulate the flow of scrap iron, rubber, paper, and other waste materials into regular commercial channels. Missouri farmers rounded up a huge quantity of scrap iron and metals. Not only were the tremendous demands of production met, but a considerable backlog was built up.⁴⁵ Rural areas also responded splendidly in the national drive for the collection of scrap rubber during the summer of 1942. For example, 240,597 pounds of scrap rubber had been collected in a drive in Harrison County concluded July 10,

⁴¹*Laws of Missouri Passed at the Session of the Sixty-First General Assembly, 1941* (Jefferson City, Missouri: Compiled and published by Dwight H. Brown, Secretary of State, 1941 [?]), p. 669.

⁴²State Council of Defense, *Missouri on Guard* (Jefferson City, Missouri: State Council of Defense, 1941), p. 24.

⁴³State Council of Defense, *Progress Bulletin*, December 5, 9, 11, 16, 1941; January 3, 1942.

⁴⁴*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 1, 1943.

⁴⁵Information supplied by Arthur S. McFarland, Executive Secretary for Missouri, Salvage Division, War Production Board, Jefferson City, Missouri, in a letter dated January 1, 1945.

1942.⁴⁶ The State and County Councils of Defense helped to promote salvage drives.

Soon after the American entry into the war, a rationing program was inaugurated in an effort to control living costs and to provide for a fair distribution of certain scarce articles available for civilian use. Late in December, 1941, state authorities were informed that rationing of automobile tires would begin on January 5, 1942. The State and County Councils of Defense assumed responsibility for organizing rationing boards. James A. Potter of Jefferson City served as State Rationing Administrator until the rationing boards were placed under the control of the Office of Price Administration during the summer of 1943. The rationing of gasoline for motor vehicles began in Missouri on December 1, 1942.⁴⁷

Rationing of tires and gasoline led to a sharp decline in automobile traffic. Since 1934, the Missouri State Highway Commission has taken state-wide and comprehensive censuses of traffic on the roads of the state highway system. During the years preceding the American entry into World War II, traffic on Missouri highways steadily increased. The first year of tire rationing, automobile passenger car traffic declined about 25 per cent. In 1943, the first year of gasoline rationing, traffic declined to 54 per cent of the average for 1941; however, the decline was less on the supplementary than on the major highways. The use of small trucks on the supplementary roads in 1943 averaged about 75 per cent of what it had been in 1941.⁴⁸

To help finance the war and to help maintain the economic stability of the country, the War Finance Division⁴⁹ was established in the Treasury Department of the United States. The chief function of this new agency was to sell war bonds and stamps to corporations, to partnerships, and to every individual with an income. While war bonds and stamps were sold

⁴⁶*Harrison County Times* (Bethany), July 16, 1942.

⁴⁷*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 1, 1942.

⁴⁸"Annual Vehicle Miles on the Rural State Highway System of Missouri," tabular data supplied by the Missouri State Highway Department, Jefferson City, Missouri.

⁴⁹Prior to the American entry into the war, this agency was known as the Defense Savings Staff.

on a month-to-month basis, eight special drives were held. Quotas were set for various area units in all of these drives, except the first. Of the 114 counties in the state, 97 raised their quotas in the second drive, 96 in the third, 111 in the fourth, 109 in the fifth, 110 in the sixth, and all counties oversubscribed their quotas in the seventh and eighth.

The State oversubscribed its quota in each war loan drive as follows:⁵⁰

	Quota	Amount Subscribed
First drive.....		\$215,398,877
Second drive.....	\$159,726,000	277,075,704
Third drive.....	320,000,000	372,939,755
Fourth drive.....	282,000,000	359,715,878
Fifth drive.....	315,000,000	447,646,529
Sixth drive.....	276,000,000	422,783,496
Seventh drive.....	280,000,000	562,962,511
Eighth drive.....	205,000,000	456,069,020

The total amount subscribed in these eight war loan drives was \$3,114,591,770, of which \$555,750,781 was subscribed by the counties, exclusive of the city of St. Louis, and St. Louis and Jackson counties.⁵¹

Rural school children and teachers made noteworthy contributions to the war effort by purchasing war stamps and bonds and collecting large quantities of scrap iron, metals, rubber, and paper, ransacking attics, garages and cellars, and scouring the countryside for these salvage items. The Moore School, a one-room rural school, in Linn County, Missouri, with the cooperation of the people of that county, won first place in a national scrap paper collection contest. The school was credited with the collection of 137 tons of scrap paper.⁵²

Among rural institutions, few were affected by the war as much as the elementary school. Although the rural school population has been declining for a number of years, this decline was greatly accelerated by the heavy migration from rural to urban centers during the war. The number of school chil-

⁵⁰War Finance Committee of Missouri, "Reports of the United States Treasury." (200 Federal Commerce Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.)

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*Argus* (Brookfield), November 30, 1943

dren enumerated in the rural districts decreased from 268,482 in the school year, 1939-1940,⁵³ to 240,385 in 1943-1944,⁵⁴ or a decrease of 10.4 per cent. During the same period the average daily attendance in rural elementary schools declined from 144,885⁵⁵ to 109,049, a decline of 24.7 per cent.⁵⁶

As a result of the acceleration of this trend, the number of low-attendance schools, i. e., the elementary schools with an average daily attendance of less than 15, increased from 3,901 to 5,184 from the school year of 1939-1940 to that of 1942-1943. During the latter year the low-attendance schools comprised about two-thirds of all the rural elementary schools in the state. As a result of a war-scarcity of teachers, many of the rural school districts closed their schoolhouses. In 1944-1945 there were 1,677 districts in which rural schoolhouses were closed; of these, fifteen had no pupils and the others transported their pupils elsewhere, usually to schools in town. A large number of male teachers entered the armed forces and women teachers joined various branches of the services for women, while many others, both men and women, left the schools for better paid jobs in war industries. The number of male teachers in rural elementary schools fell from 1,816 in the school year of 1940-1941 to 584, 1943-1944, a decline of 67 per cent. The number of teachers who had no training beyond high school increased from 317 in 1939 to 1,093 in 1944.⁵⁷

This brief survey of the home front in rural Missouri during World War II shows that the rural population responded to the demands of the crises in a highly satisfactory manner. What Missouri produced on its farms and extracted from its mines were important contributions to the war effort of the United States and the United Nations, and conversely, the impact of the war changed rural life in the state in many ways, of which many will undoubtedly be far-reaching in their

⁵³State Department of Education, *Ninety-First Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri for the School Year Ending June 30, 1940* (Jefferson City, Missouri: State Department of Education, 1941), p. 144.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, *Ninety-Fifth Report*, 1944, p. 227.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, *Ninety-First Report*, 1940, p. 147.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, *Ninety-Fifth Report*, 1944, p. 254.

⁵⁷Personal interview with Oscar G. Shupp, Director of Research and Statistics, State Department of Education, Jefferson City, Missouri, July 2, 1945.

influence. Out of the experience of the war comes the challenge to maintain in the postwar period the productive capacity and the cooperative effort developed during the war and to divert it from destructive to constructive purposes.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI

BY FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER¹

A summary of the activities of the State Historical Society for the year ending, December 31, 1945, is herewith presented for the members of the Society, particularly those who could not be present at the annual meeting, April 25.

Despite the difficulties that accompanied and followed the war, the Society has continued to maintain its contributions as a state historical society for Missouri and its rank in the nation, having the largest number of members of any state historical society. The most significant item in the Society's annals for the period is its continued success in obtaining price-less acquisitions and in preparing for public use its earlier collections. In addition, the Society has prepared for publication important historical contributions and documents, made significant financial gains, and expanded rapidly in membership growth.

HISTORICAL ART COLLECTIONS

One of the more recent policies of the Society has been to extend its historical art collections. The purchases of two of George Caleb Bingham's paintings as well as the collection and publication of Bingham manuscript material are the latest steps in this direction. The Thomas Hart Benton gallery, officially opened by the Society May 2, 1945, is the first in the country to be dedicated to a living painter. A third art collection, that of the Daniel R. Fitzpatrick cartoons, was acquired by the Society in 1945 and has been made ready for exhibition. Such an assemblage of the works of the great artists of Missouri is invaluable.

¹FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER is the secretary and librarian of the State Historical Society of Missouri, as well as editor of the *Missouri Historical Review*. This report was made by the secretary on behalf of the executive committee at the annual meeting of the Society, April 25, 1946.

**Daniel R. Fitzpatrick
Collection**

The collection of 1,302 original drawings of cartoons covers the period 1928 to the present by Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, internationally famous editorial cartoonist of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The artist's work has been displayed in one-man shows, in domestic and foreign museums, and has been awarded numerous prizes, including the Pulitzer prize of 1926.

During the past year, permanent quarters have been provided, and the collection was placed on public display after the annual meeting, April 25. For their most efficient preservation, the cartoons are carefully cleaned with art gum where the white surfaces need it; and the edges carefully trimmed where time and office handling have broken them. A record of the Fitzpatrick cartoons was made, and from the newspaper files in the library of the Society, the individual cartoons were identified and dated. In addition to an index of each item according to publication date, an analytical card index lists the title, date, and describes briefly the drawing itself. For permanent display, the cartoons, covered with protecting acetate foil, are mounted on mat boards which measure 22 x 28 inches. The collection is filed in solander boxes, each containing forty drawings which are carefully preserved by parchment paper folders to protect the surface. These boxes are arranged in mahogany cabinets, representing the best in artistic woodworking, measuring 42 x 48 x 27 inches.

Those cartoons for display will be rotated frequently to permit the exhibition of most of the collection over a period of time. It is planned to microfilm the entire collection in order to lessen the wear on the drawings themselves.

Most of the cartoons are in the field of Missouriana, with a number referring to national and international affairs. A few titles may remind one of their merit: the "European Maypole," against which man is being bound by Hitler and Mussolini in their heyday; "Autumn in St. Louis," with the factories beclouding the sky during the anti-smoke campaign; "Fellow Diplomats," gun barrels at a conference table; "The Dead End Kids," the Balkans; "Vichy We are Here," Laval

on the Nazi knee; the "Arch of Triumph," here a guillotine for France during the débacle in June, 1940. His accusing black pencil has always pointed with shame at any private interest—whether local or national—which jeopardizes the public good.

**George Caleb Bingham
Collection**

A Bingham gallery is being planned to be located in the new wing of the library building when it is built. In July, 1945, the Society purchased his "Order No. 11," Missouri's most famous historical painting, and in November, 1945, a "lost" Bingham, "Scene on the Ohio, 1851."

"Order No. 11," completed in 1868, was the artist's answer to the military order by General Thomas Ewing, August 25, 1863, which was issued to dislodge the bushwhackers and guerrillas operating in western Missouri, but depopulated a wide area. It so enraged Bingham that he painted this vivid portrayal of the cruelties accompanying the order.

On a canvas $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, stands a family group before their burning home being attacked and sacked by the "red-legs." A son lies dead, the mother has fainted, the grey-haired father is about to be shot by a soldier while his two daughters plead for mercy, and the terror-stricken slaves flee.

The Society purchased the canvas from the heirs of George Bingham Rollins, son of Major James S. Rollins who was the bosom friend of the artist. From 1883 until 1936 it was housed in the home of G. B. Rollins, and since 1936 it has hung in the reading room of the Society. The painting has just been restored by Mr. James Roth, technical assistant in the William Rockhill Nelson gallery of art, Kansas City.

The "Scene on the Ohio," painted in 1851, was purchased by the Society from Mrs. Marie Collins of New York City, who bought it from the nephew of the original purchaser at the Bingham estate sale in Kansas City in 1893. Little was known of this landscape of Bingham's although it was shown at the Memorial Museum in San Francisco in 1912 and a visitor to Bingham's Columbia studio in 1851 mentioned it.

The dominant feature of the painting is the stretch of the river with sprawling hills as a backdrop, while scattered on the

left bank are two seated figures, a little patch of corn, and two more distant figures with a dog. The canvas measures 18 x 20 inches, and is enclosed in a five-inch gold-leaf frame.

Bingham was best known to his contemporaries for his portrait and genre paintings. In addition to the new purchases, the Society owns the genre canvas, "Watching the Cargo," or "Lighter Relieving a Steamboat Aground," and portraits of James Shannon, second president of the University of Missouri, John Woods Harris, a prominent Boone county farmer in Bingham's day, and Vinnie Ream, the sculptress who modeled the nationally known bust of Abraham Lincoln. Also in the Society's collection, lent by its owner, J. Sidney Rollins of Columbia, is a portrait of the late Major James S. Rollins.

In the gallery to be devoted to Bingham will also be located one of the valuable and interesting manuscript collections of the Society. Several hundred letters written by the artist to Major Rollins were presented to the Society by C. B. Rollins, Sr., who also edited them for the *Missouri Historical Review*, and were published from October 1937 through July 1939, inclusively. Major Rollins and Bingham met in Columbia in the spring of 1834 and their friendship lasted until the painter's death, July 7, 1879.

Another collection was presented to the Society in 1945 by Mrs. Mayme Wallace Walter of Butler, Missouri, the granddaughter of the artist's sister, Amanda Bingham Barnes. This includes the original diary of George Caleb Bingham's father, Henry Vest Bingham, kept on his trip west in 1818 to investigate western lands and his return to Augusta County, Virginia, before emigrating to Missouri the following year. The diary was edited by Marie George Windell and published in the October 1945 and January 1946 issues of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Also included in Mrs. Walter's collection are a medallion set with a miniature portrait of the artist's sister, Amanda, and her will.

Today Bingham is judged to have no peer in his field and period. Such a collection will add immeasurably to the already significant materials of the library of the Society.

**Thomas Hart Benton
Gallery**

This valuable historical art collection includes *The Year of Peril* paintings, a series of eight historical canvasses of 1942, painted by the Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton, and the artist's closely associated canvas, entitled, "Negro Soldier," which he painted at the time of *The Year of Peril* series. The paintings were acquired by the Society in 1944. Rooms were prepared for them and the framed canvases were publicly displayed following the annual meeting, May 2, 1945. Since the opening of the gallery, visitors both in and out of Missouri, as well as art students in Missouri colleges, have come to see the paintings. During the fall of 1945 the painting, "Again," was lent to the Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, Oklahoma, for display in its special exhibition on Art in Religion.

PUBLICATION OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS AND DOCUMENTS

As an historical organization, the State Historical Society has compiled and published for forty years historical articles and official documents which otherwise might not have been accessible to the public. These publications include the quarterly magazine, the *Missouri Historical Review*, historical feature articles appearing weekly in Missouri newspapers, documents such as the Missouri governors' messages and proclamations, the journal and debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, and in the last year the preparation for publication of the manuscript collection of Ozark folksongs by Vance Randolph.

**Ozark
Folksongs**

This collection of about 1700 texts and 825 melodies of Ozark folksongs, gathered over a period of Randolph's twenty-five years' residence in the area, was acquired by the Society in 1945, and will be published in a four-volume work in 1946 and 1947. Nationally famous as an authority on Ozark folklore, he has compiled old ballads, the folk and love songs of our hills, into a collection which is the largest regional one of its kind in the United States. Besides the size of this collection, its publication by

the Society is noteworthy for being the only one of its kind published by any state historical society with the single exception of a very brief study published in 1916 by the Indiana Historical Commission.

Preparation of the manuscript for publication began last fall, and volume one of the series, now in press, will be published by October. The work is edited by Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the Society, and Dr. Frances Guthrie Emberson, whose special research field is midwestern literature.

A bibliography of about 400 items has been checked either from the actual works or by nationwide correspondence; as much as thirty per cent has been added to the headnotes; and all publications in the field from 1940 to 1945 have been referred to for additional data.

Each volume, about 400 pages in length and bound about 7 x 10 inches in size, contains numerous photographs of the contributors who were interviewed by Randolph. These songs were either phonographically recorded at the time or taken down by him and transcribed later. The melodies are presented in musical scores accompanying the verses. An index to the four volumes will appear at the end of the fourth volume.

An unusual bit of Missouri flavor is added by the endpapers of the work which are designed by the Missouri artist, Thomas Hart Benton. Admirably fitted to present the spirit of the Ozark hill singer, his drawings are as native to the region as the songs.

These old tunes and verses, that reflect faint lilting or plaintive echoes of those faroff days of their origin, offer a still living heritage that must be soon preserved if Tin Pan Alley is not to destroy it forever. Besides its obvious contribution to American music and folklore, this publication is memorable for Missouri in its collection and preservation of native Ozarkiana. It is highly significant that the State Historical Society both owns this unusually large manuscript collection and will publish it for the public.

Missouri Historical Review

The scope of the work done by the Society as a central directing agency in the compilation and dissemination of Missouri history is evidenced in the rank of its quarterly magazine, the *Missouri Historical Review*, which has the largest regular circulation of any state historical magazine in America. The four numbers issued during 1945 contain 600 printed pages of historical data on Missouri and Missourians. During the year, the staff of the publications and research department checked and edited meticulously more than 880 pages of typed copy for the *Review*, of which 760 were written by the staff itself.

During the year two selected diaries, that of Colonel John Glover who traveled in Missouri in 1826 and that of Henry Vest Bingham, father of the Missouri artist, George Caleb Bingham, who first came to Missouri in 1818, were edited by the copy editor of the magazine and published in the *Review*. The policy of collecting Missouri war data has been continued this year, and a serial, "Missouri and the War," has been published in each issue.

One section of the quarterly, the "Missouri Reader," also compiled and edited by the staff, presents by installments selected readings, particularly contemporary source material, in Missouri history. The publication of such primary source material will be continued, thus making available for public and scholarly use, some of the files of rare Missouriana owned by the Society.

Weekly Historical Feature Articles

Little known aspects and dusty corners in Missouri history are given an airing by the series of weekly historical feature articles, published by the Society in the rural and metropolitan newspapers of the State. The present releases grew out of the series, "This Week in Missouri History," begun in February 1925, and completed in October 1941, the oldest and most widely circulated service of its kind in the United States. This series was concerned with a specific event or an individual, emphasizing particularly the political and legal aspects of Missouri

history. On the conclusion of the first series of 871 articles, the Society began November 2, 1941, a new type of historical feature articles, written as news features, also by the staff of the Society, released, and printed weekly to foster popular interest in Missouri history.

The living matter of the last century (its life and times), are the subjects for this series of social history: for example, house raisings, social bees, duels, food and clothing, the early farm, life on the trail, amusements and celebrations. 217 numbers of the latter series have been released and are sent regularly to 247 Missouri newspapers. In addition, both series have been indexed by the Society, providing a ready reference to 7,965 persons, subjects, and dates of wide popular interest.

**Documentary
Publications
Completed**

In 1920 the Society began the publication of some of the State's rarest documents, formerly practically inaccessible to the public. The first step began with the editing and publishing in 1921 of the *Journal of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* in two volumes, commemorating Missouri's statehood and the centennial anniversary of our admission to the Union.

The Society began the publication of the *Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875* during the 1929-1930 biennium. This series in twelve volumes was completed in 1944.

As a result of these publications, Missouri was well prepared for the constitutional convention of 1943-1944. The complete *Journal* and *Debates* were available in a practical form for the members of the convention and were useful in interpreting and revising the then existing constitution.

To make available the historical research first published in "This Week in Missouri History," and to give it permanent form, the Society published in 1942 and 1943 a two-volume work entitled, *Missouri, Day by Day*. Its purpose was to furnish a handbook on the chronicle of Missouri history.

Missouri, Day by Day, the weekly historical feature articles, and the *Missouri Historical Review* comprise the popular publication program of the State Historical Society. This

program, designed for the historical orientation of Missouri citizens, has a larger coverage than any similar program in the nation.

**Documentary
Publications
in Progress**

During 1923-1930, twelve volumes of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri* were published.

These volumes covered the executive terms from 1820 to 1929. Since the completion of volume twelve, four governors, Henry S. Caulfield, Guy B. Park, Lloyd C. Stark, and Forrest C. Donnell, have each served a full term as chief executive of the State. During 1946 and 1947 two more volumes of these invaluable state documents, covering the four administrations from 1929 to 1944, inclusively, will be published. The first of these volumes, volume XIII, will soon be in press.

During 1946 and the first six months of 1947, the Society plans to continue its quarterly and weekly publications, publish two volumes of the *Governors' Messages*, and two volumes of Vance Randolph's *Ozark Folksongs*.

COLLECTION AND PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS

The State Historical Society library has consistently kept as among its prime functions the collection of original materials that are too easily lost and their preservation for scholarly research. During the past year additions continued to be made regularly to the already large manuscript collections and to the library's source materials, including the extensive Missouri newspaper files.

**J. Christian Bay
Collection**

The Bay collection of Middle Western Americana ranks among the very unusual of those either privately or publicly owned.

Figures on the size of the library proper do not include the Bay collection, which consists of 3,376 items. The collection received 64 volumes during 1945, of which 37 volumes were gifts, 13 volumes being donated by Dr. Bay. Outstanding among those from Dr. Bay are two manuscript books from Virginia City, Nevada: a volume entitled, *Orders on Terington & Co.*

and one entitled, *Wells, Fargo & Co. in Account with J. W. Haynie & Co.* Outstanding among the purchases are John Hyde Braly's *Memory Pictures*, published in 1912, and the first edition of Meriwether Lewis' *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark . . . During the Years 1804-5-6*, published in 1814 (2 volumes).

Twenty volumes of the Bay collection were bound during 1945. Solander cases were also made for 21 volumes.

**Soldiers' Letters,
Diaries, and
Photographs**

The campaign by the Society to collect the war letters, diaries, and photographs of Missourians in the armed forces began in December 1945, with an open letter to the public printed in columns of Missouri newspapers and magazines. A total of 1066 direct communications to public agencies was made to newspapers and periodicals, chambers of commerce, and the staff of the State agricultural extension service. An appeal was made for interested persons to write the Society, indicating on a preliminary questionnaire appearing in the newspaper the nature of the material available, and by a more lengthy questionnaire, to be returned to the Society, more information concerning the military record, branch of service, decorations, and theater of operations in which the serviceman or woman served. Finally, all responses, including names of additional prospective donors, received from the appeal, have been closely followed up by personal correspondence.

The Society hopes by the acquisition of thousands of such letters and diaries to obtain the personal accounts of the lives of young Missourians during the war years and to preserve while there is yet time the precious correspondence that records their story of the war. This type of material must be preserved as soon as possible, for it is easily lost or destroyed. The project was begun too late in 1945 to bring significant results, but the response was immediate and has been steady. Those letters already received richly demonstrate the value of such a collection.

Since the best method for collecting this material is through personal contact with the owner, the Society also

extended its appeal through the *Missouri Historical Review* to its readers. 80 newspapers and periodicals, representing 50 Missouri counties, gave the campaign publicity; these included the city and county press, and state-wide magazines like the *State Guardsman* and the *Missouri Church News*. The latest step in the project has been the contacting of service organizations in the State.

**Acquisitions
and Binding**

During 1945 there were 8,329 items received by the Society exclusive of magazines, newspapers, manuscripts, and serials. There were also received 62 current Missouri magazines and 52 current Missouri college periodicals.

During this year, 336 Missouri newspapers, coming from 256 towns and representing 114 counties and St. Louis City, were received. A total of 506 bound volumes were added to the Society's collection of Missouri newspapers. Other newspaper acquisitions included 25,794 newspaper pages on microfilm. The newspapers microfilmed during the year were from Aurora Springs, Bethany, Independence, Ironton, Neosho, St. Louis, Tuscumbia, and Kirtland, Ohio, and covered a period from 1832 to 1945.

Among the important newspaper acquisitions outside the microfilm field were the gift by Mrs. Robert S. Lyon of the Richmond *Conservator* files from 1853 to 1899 and the purchase from the Kansas City *Star* of the Kansas City *Journal* files from 1855 to 1942. Both acquisitions are rare and cover an extensive period of our history. The *Journal* volumes plus those previously acquired by the Society of that newspaper and its predecessor, gives the library an almost complete run of the Kansas City *Enterprise*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Journal*, and *Journal-Post*—Kansas City's oldest continuous publication. This is probably the most complete file of this newspaper in existence.

During the past year, 778 manuscript items of 1,245 pages and 9 record books of 1,937 pages were added to the Society's manuscript collection. Outstanding among these are: Dr. William G. Bek's gift of his translations of three early sources

relating to the history of the Germans in Missouri: (1) the Westphalia, Missouri, pioneer, Nicholas Hesse's *Das Westliche Nord America* . . . (Paderborn, 1838); (2) the letters of Dr. William Keil, founder of the Bethel communistic society in Shelby county, describing a trip to Oregon in 1855; and (3) the Civil War diary of John Buegel, St. Louis Union soldier. In addition, five diaries of G. H. and H. J. Brown, father and son and pioneer settlers of Caldwell County, Missouri, recording pioneer life there and earlier in Dutchess County, New York, and Michigan, in the years 1861-1874, were donated by Dr. Bertha E. Booth of Hamilton, Missouri. The Henry Vest Bingham diary of 1818 describing a trip from Virginia to Missouri, was presented by Mrs. A. J. Walter of Butler, Missouri. The Walter Williams manuscript collection was a gift from Mrs. Sara Lockwood Williams of Rockford, Illinois.

The Walter Williams collection totals 1,474 pieces including its 760 manuscript items of 1030 pages. The collection relates, with four exceptions, to Mr. Williams' career as dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism. It is widely representative of this field, including cuts, photograph albums, world-wide correspondence relating to journalism, and his lecture notes. Two scrapbooks, one on the Holy Land, and a second of a world tour taken in 1901-1902, are the only items outside the twenty-seven years of his administration of the school from 1908 to 1935. The collection is not open to the public.

The total number of volumes of books and newspapers bound during 1945 was 741.

**Current Missouri
Weeklies Microfilmed**

One of the most pressing and ominous problems facing historical societies is the preservation of current newspapers. Modern newsprint, made of woodpulp which deteriorates rapidly, will not stand much use or exposure to light for any considerable time. In addition, filing and binding 365 current Missouri newspapers threatens to overflow all storage space of the stacks of the Society. After years of experimenting, the Society adopted in October 1937 microfilming for preserving old newspapers. The pages, reproduced on 35 mm.

film, are read by means of a projector. The film is permanent and economical both in cost and storage requirements. 100-foot roll of microfilm weighing ten ounces contains 750 to 800 pages, or from three to four years of a 4-page weekly newspaper, and requires only twenty-one cubic inches of storage space instead of two large newspaper volumes, if bound.

To the total number of microfilm pages, equivalent to 895 bound volumes of newspapers on file in December 31, 1944, there were added in 1945, 25,794 pages, equivalent to 63 bound volumes. Since 1944 the Society has preserved a microfilm copy of the final edition of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and a separate copy of the editorials of that newspaper.

The State Historical Society included in its budget for 1945 a request for microfilming all Missouri weeklies, semi-weeklies, and tri-weeklies received during the year. An appropriation for these activities was granted by the 63rd General Assembly of Missouri and approved by Governor Phil M. Donnelly. Before microfilming the 300 weekly files, the Society secured permission from each of the editors of the newspapers to be reproduced. The Bethany *Republican-Clipper* and the Ironton *Mountain Echo* of 1944 were microfilmed as pilot cases, and in February 1946, the contract was let with University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to microfilm 93,288 pages of the 1945 weekly files. By microfilming, the great objective of use without destruction will be obtained, and the Society will be making an outstanding contribution to the preservation of Missouri's historical records. It is hoped that this program will be continued in the future, as well as expanded ultimately to include the daily press.

OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES

As a central body, the Society seeks to answer public needs in the historical field by acting as a reference library. The extensive historical facilities allow research by the individual scholar and layman, aided greatly by the analytical indices in biography and history, which have been compiled by the Society staff. The Society encourages, and advises county historical societies which spread popular enthusiasm

for Missouri history to the far corners of the state. Then, for the many who are not able to come to the library, the reference service of the Society furnishes by correspondence general and detailed information from its storehouse.

Reference Service, Cataloging, and Analytical Indexing During 1945, 1,937 patrons have used the Society's reading room, and 1,048 readers have used the newspaper collection. Over 1,000 hours of research by staff members were required to answer specific requests by letter for information on Missouri biography and history.

During this year, 657 books and pamphlets were cataloged and 3,176 catalog cards were typed and filed for additions. Also added were 3,281 analytical index cards which were typed and filed. This addition brings the total of analytical Missouri index cards in the library, exclusive of 125,479 catalog cards, to 712,443.

Size of Library The total number of books and bound newspapers and magazines is 73,291. There are also 41,759 separate titles of pamphlets and 151,607 Missouri official publications, a total of 266,657 books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines. Of manuscripts, there are 19,350 single items of 75,533 pages, 623 volumes of diaries, journals, account books, and original or copied church minutes, totalling 95,068 manuscript pages, 99,390 pages of manuscript material on microfilm (a total of 269,991 manuscript pages), besides 115,180 items of State archives.

In addition to the 19,287 bound volumes of newspapers, there are 2,277 unbound volumes and 252,469 pages on microfilm, the equivalent of 995 yearly volumes. There are 10,883 photographs, prints, paintings, and portraits, and 1,983 cuts. In addition to the 2,779 bound volumes of magazines and college periodicals, there are current unbound issues to comprise approximately 320 volumes. The Society has a collection of 651 maps, not including highway and geological maps. The scrapbook collection totals 119. The figures, while not including some of the Society's smaller collections, give an indication of the size of the library.

County Historical Societies

Twenty-six counties now have local historical societies, two having been organized during 1945, Boone and Platte. Although the majority of these suspended work during the war, several were very active, and the majority have ambitious programs which will probably be realized in the near future.

Cole County society has a large membership, a full treasury, marks historical spots with bronze markers, and publishes historical articles by its members in the *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*. The Native Sons of Kansas City have compiled an historical map of Jackson County and published a commemorial thumbbook on county history. Pettis, organized in 1944, and now the largest county society in the State, has a fine and well equipped museum, a treasury of over \$800, and a membership of nearly 1000 paid members; it has given a weekly radio program, and publishes a weekly newspaper column. The Phelps society collects journals, papers, and other records, publishes data, and maintains a museum for the Meramec iron works. In addition to the above mentioned, those societies in Clay, Howard and Cooper, and Jackson counties, and the Historical Association of Greater St. Louis have been most active. Dunklin and Cape Girardeau societies have renewed activity and Boone and Platte counties have prospered this year.

The societies are given all the advice, information, and encouragement possible by the Society, with whom they are affiliated, and reports of their activities appear in the *Missouri Historical Review*.

THE SOCIETY AND ITS STAFF**Rank and Membership**

Today the Society ranks first in the number of active members among all state historical societies in the United States, a position it reached during 1935 and has held continuously since 1937. The active annual members of the Society numbered 4,076 on December 31, 1945, with a net gain of 375 members during the past year, or a net increase in a single year of 34 per cent,

compared with a net increase of 280 members during the preceding two years.

The Society not only heads the state historical associations of the nation in active membership, but also in the circulation of its historical articles published weekly in the newspapers of the State, and in the circulation of its quarterly magazine.

**Library
Staff**

The staff of the Society as of December 31, 1945, included eleven persons. This is one more in number than were on the staff during 1944, one less than during 1942, and is the same in number as during 1943.

It may be of some interest to the members of the Society to note that until very recent years the Secretary was the only member of the staff who had a graduate degree from a University. Today, one-half of the staff holds such degrees, two being Ph.D.s and four M.A.s, the other members of the staff have either had special training in their field of library work or have attended senior colleges and universities. The staff includes a secretary and librarian, a reference librarian, a newspaper librarian, a cataloger, an acquisitions librarian, a copy editor, three research associates, senior stenographer, and junior stenographer.

THE MISSOURI READER THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY

PART IV

EDITED BY DOROTHY PENN¹

The Family

Dress
House and Furnishings
Foods
Health

THE FAMILY

DRESS

Among the majority of the French settlers in the area, "their dress was formerly extremely simple; the men wore a blanket coat of coarse cloth or coating, with a cape behind, which could be drawn over the head, from which circumstance it was called a *capote*. They wore a blue handkerchief on their heads; but no hats, or shoes, or stockings; moccasins, or the Indian sandals, were used by both sexes. The dress of the females was likewise simple, and the varieties of fashion few; though they were dressed in a much better taste than the other sex. . . . We still see a few of both sexes in their ancient habiliments: capots, moccasins, blue handkerchiefs on the head, a pipe in the mouth, and the hair tied up in a long queue."²

"It seems the masses of the French in France as well as Illinois, have a strong predilection for the blue color. Blue

¹DOROTHY PENN, a native Missourian, is a research associate of the State Historical Society. She received her A.B. and B.S. degrees from the University of Missouri, A.M. degree from Columbia University, and Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1932. She has been employed in federal Civil Service, has taught in several midwestern colleges, including the position as head of the department of modern languages at Drury College, Springfield, Missouri, and was director of research of the Cleveland Inter-American Council. She has contributed numerous articles to newspapers and periodicals on French and Spanish language and literature.

²Henri M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana; together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1814), p. 137.

handkerchiefs were generally worn on the head by both male and female. . . .

"Hats in olden times were very little used. The *capot* made of white blanket, was the universal dress for the laboring class of people. A kind of cap was attached behind at the cape which in cold weather was raised over the head, in the house, or in good weather, was permitted to rest on the shoulders like an ordinary cape. Coarse blue stuff the working man used for pantaloons in summer, and buckskin or cloth in the winter. . . .

"The females generally, and the males a good deal, wore the deer skin mawkawsins. . . . The men out of doors wore a coarser and stronger article made out of thicker leather, which the Americans called 'shoe packs.' But both sexes were always provided with something tasty and neat for the church and ballroom."³

"The same material [blue handkerchief] of lighter quality, and fancy colors, wreathed with bright-colored ribbons, and sometimes flowers, formed the fancy head-dress of the females on festive occasions . . . the feet in winter were protected by Indian moccasins . . . but in summer, and in dry weather, the foot was left uncovered and free, except on festive occasions and holidays, when it was adorned with the light moccasin, gorgeously ornamented with brilliants of porcupine quills, shells, beads, or lace, ingeniously wrought over the front instead of buckles, and on the side flaps."⁴

"The costume of the humbler woman of the village consisted of the blue kerchief head-dress, a fichu pinned down at the throat, a waist, a skirt (voluminous over petticoats), and moccasin slippers. The waist and skirt were of the boldest pattern and colour of *calamanco*, *cirsaca*, calico—*fond blanc à*

³John Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois Containing the Discovery in 1673, and the History of the Country to the Year 1818 When State Government was Organized* (Belleville, Illinois: N. A. Randall, 1852), pp. 51-52.

⁴John W. Monett, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi by the Three Great European Powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain, and the Subsequent Occupation, Settlement, and Extension of Civil Government by the United States Until the Year 1846* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), I, 188-189.

bouquets, à ramages, dotted, checked, striped. Over the skirt the woman might wear an apron of fine deer skin."⁵

"The French generally, and the females of that nation particularly, caught up the French fashions from New Orleans and Paris, and with a singular avidity adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents."⁶

"Considering the early date and the depth of the surrounding wilderness, the gentleman had, in addition, a surprising number of accessories—French soap, ribbons for his queue, razors, watches, rings, walking sticks and *cannes à épées*, swords and belts, snuff boxes of silver and inlaid woods, tassels, and fringed handkerchiefs."⁷

Among the clothing items in one such inventory of 1771 in Ste. Genevieve, we find: "regimental coat and vest . . . gold button . . . silver buckles . . . silver rings, purses, hat, twenty-two shirts, thirty handkerchiefs, six drawers . . . umbrellas . . . cravats . . . eight pair of breeches . . . muff, curling iron."⁸ In an inventory of goods received and for sale by one Gratiot, merchant in Cahokia, in 1780, are included the following among the many items offered for sale: ordinary and fine quality blankets, blanket capots, Calimanco cloaks or mantillas, "being a sort of gogram or mohair stuff with a fine gloss, light but warm," and by other traders, double flannel, cloaks, cotton shirts, scarlet cloth, coarse white and grey Indian muslin, red cotton handkerchiefs, knit caps, and striped caps.⁹

"The wealthier colonist wore at his throat a white *mouchoir à col*. For ordinary wear, or in cold weather, his coat, waistcoat, and breeches were of camlot (a cloth of goats'

⁵Ward A. Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Studies, X, No. 2), 19, 20. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

⁶Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, p. 52.

⁷Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, pp. 19, 20.

⁸Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State into the Union* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons Co., 1908), II, 268-269. (Reprinted by permission of Mr. Giboney Houck.)

⁹J. Thomas Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County from the Earliest Periods to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Representative Men* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 1883), I, 270, 277.

hair and silk), kerseymere, calamanco (a woolen stuff), or delicate deerskin. In the warmer season, or for gala wear, these same garments were of satin, taffeta, silk, or velvet. Stockings for the costume of heavier cloth were of cotton or *fil*; for the garments of silk or velvet, black or white silk. Out of doors this costume was covered with a heavy redingote, and the low slippers were replaced by riding boots. . . .

"As with the men, there is listed many an article of women's clothing which could not have belonged to a peasant girl—fichus of silk; corsets, scarves of muslin, silk, chiffon; dresses of lawn, taffeta, satin, silk; mantles of blue poponaise lined with white serge, of gray wool over blue silk with satin hood, or of red and white silk; combs of horn and ivory; fans; ribbons, crucifixes; earrings; parasols, silk stockings, and morocco slippers."¹⁰

However, these were for the most part brought in from the outside. Stoddard questions the extent to which these luxuries were common. "The manufactures in Upper-Louisiana, especially in articles of clothing, were of a similar nature [to those in Lower Louisiana—cotton and cotton and woolen mixtures, as clothing for the poorer classes and slaves]. The inhabitants generally cultivated a sufficient quantity of cotton for family purposes, and spun and wove it into cloth. They were not able to defray the expenses of foreign manufactured articles; the prices of which in these upper regions, were very exorbitant."¹¹

The washing was done in huge iron pots with water hauled for the purpose, or in the streams or ponds as in the Old Country. "On the west side of the pond [Chouteau's Pond] was a gradual slope, covered with hazel bushes, scrub-oaks, persimmon, and grapevines. Most of the inhabitants, who lived in the centre of the town, would resort to this spot to wash clothes. Two or three women would club together and one, furnishing a cart, would haul out all the clothes of the

¹⁰Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, pp. 19, 20.

¹¹Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1812), pp. 323-324.

party. They had large iron pots in which to boil the clothes, and platforms extended out into the water at a depth of two feet, where the clothes would be put in, and, after pounding them out with paddles, producing the same effect as washboards, they would hang the clothes out to dry on the hazel-bushes."¹²

HOUSE AND FURNISHINGS

In St. Louis "until some years after the transfer in 1804, the houses were of but two materials, stone and timber. The stone was quarried with a crow-bar and sledge-hammer, from along the river bluffs in front of the village, and much of the timber for the first houses was cut on the ground and in the near vicinity.

"The houses were uniformly of one style, such as prevails in the South, one story in height, with a loft above and a steep roof, the largest and best with galleries all around, some with galleries in front and sides, and a few of the poorer sort only in front, generally covered with clapboards, the best shingled.

"About four-fifths of the houses were of posts set in the ground, the best of them hewed about nine inches square, the others of round posts set about three feet deep; a few of the best of these houses were of hewed posts set on a stone wall from four to five feet high above ground. The largest portion of these houses were from twenty to thirty feet in size, divided usually into two and some of them three rooms; some smaller, of fifteen to twenty feet square, a single room, which had to serve as parlor, bed and dining-room and kitchen; a few had a shed attached to the house for the latter purpose. A few of the larger houses were divided into three rooms, with a stone chimney in the center and a fireplace in each room; they were mostly floored with hewed puncheons, the ceilings from eight to ten feet high.

"A few of the largest stone houses were divided into five rooms, a large one in the center extending from front to rear, and two small ones on each side, opening into the large center room; the floor some ten feet above ground, the lower part

¹²Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, I, 128 (footnote).

used for cellar or storerooms; the flooring sawed with whip-saws, there being no saw-mill in the country, with ceilings about ten feet high, with from one to two windows in a room, opening, in the French style, on hinges, and glazed with 8 by 10 lights, a few with 10 by 12, the largest size used in the country for many years."¹³

Levasseur comments to the effect that the first floor had not always been occupied formerly, and that the stairs to the upper floor could be removed at will. This precaution was taken earlier by the first inhabitants of St. Louis because of the need to be protected from the sudden night attacks of the savages.¹⁴ "Bricks were not used north of New Madrid, and the horizontal log cabin in the Swedish style, so popular with the Anglo-American pioneer, while known to the local French (they called it the '*maison de pièces sur pièces*') seems to have been used by them only rarely."¹⁵

"Inside, these houses were plastered and whitewashed on their vertical walls, but the ceilings were left to show open beams, sometimes very massive, and the attic flooring . . . A limited amount of original wrought iron hardware has been found . . . enough to show kinship with that of Quebec and New Orleans and a marked difference from other Early American types. . . . Both doors and windows were protected on the outside by solid wood shutters or *contrevents* (literally 'against the wind')."¹⁶

In these cabins, the "interstices between the upright logs were *bousillés* [filled] with a mixture of clay and straw, twigs, or animal hair [sometimes Spanish moss, cut fine instead of hair]. Occasionally, as may still be seen in the Bolduc house [Ste. Genevieve] this filling was of stone. Stone was also used for the interior chimneys and sometimes—as in the case of a house as early as 1778—for room partitions. Exterior chimneys were of *bousillage* [cat-and-clay, a mixture of mud or

¹³Frederick L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co., 1886), pp. 81-82.

¹⁴A. Levasseur, *Lafayette en Amerique en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats Unis* (Bruxelles, 1829), III, 49.

¹⁵Charles E. Peterson, "French Houses of the Illinois Country," *Missouriana, and the Missouri Magazine*, X, No. 10 (August-September, 1938), 10.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 6.

clay with straw, twigs, hair, etc.] in a frame of logs. . . . The roof is characterized by its long sweep, descending abruptly at first, then gradually, far out over the galleries. In some cases it was punctuated at intervals by high gable windows which had, so Charles Dickens thought, 'a kind of French shrug about them.' These and the roof were covered with the rustic hand-made shingle—the *bardeau*."¹⁷

"The porch or gallery . . . is a constant feature, extending not only in front of the house but on two, three, sometimes all four sides. At one time this was true even of the churches. The *galerie* is, of course, sufficient indication of the southern importation. It was devised by folk who wished to pass as much as possible of a long summer in the open, but in the shade . . . Under the roof of the *galerie*, where there is protection from the rain, the outer wall was (and is still) white-washed, either because heat is so partly deflected, or because the owners of the house believe that white-wash is 'healthful'."¹⁸

"Houses and their dependencies made up the town [Ste. Genevieve]. Of the latter, the barn, stable (*étable*, *écurie*), shed (*hangard*), henhouse (*poulailler*), corn house (*cabane a mahis*), and the oven (*four*) seem to have been the most common. Mention of the outside kitchen, the slave quarters (*cabane a negres*), and the bakehouse is also made in the early records. . . . Three examples of wellheads of stone with windlasses and their peculiar wooden tops resembling pup tents remain in the town."¹⁹

A rather more intimate picture of a French home is given by Brackenridge who resided for some time in Ste. Genevieve in the early years. "The house of M. Beauvais was a long, low building, with a porch or shed in front and another in the rear; the chimney occupied the center, dividing the house into two parts, with each a fireplace. One of these served for dining-room, parlor, and principal bed-chamber; the other was the kitchen; and each had a small room taken off at the end for

¹⁷Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, p. 15.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁹Charles E. Peterson, "Early Ste. Genevieve and Its Architecture," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXV, No. 2 (January, 1941), 216.

private chambers or cabinets. There was no loft or garret, a pair of stairs being a rare thing in the village. The furniture, excepting the beds and the looking-glass, was of the most common kind, consisting of an *armoire*, a rough table or two, and some coarse chairs. The yard was inclosed with cedar pickets, eight or ten inches in diameter and seven feet high, placed upright, sharpened at the top, in the manner of a stockade fort. In front the yard was narrow, but in the rear quite spacious, and containing the barn and stables, the negro quarters, and all the necessary offices of a farm-yard. Beyond this there was a spacious garden inclosed with pickets in the same manner with the yard. It was, indeed, a garden—in which the greatest variety and the finest vegetables were cultivated, intermingled with flowers and shrubs: on one side of it there was a small orchard containing a variety of the choicest fruits. The substantial and permanent character of these inclosures is in singular contrast with the slight and temporary fences and palings of the Americans. The house was a ponderous wooden frame, which, instead of being weather-boarded, was filled in with clay, and then white-washed."²⁰

"Though it is not clear from the Brackenridge description, the kitchen was not necessarily a part of the main dwelling. It frequently occupied an *appentis* built as an addition to the rear or to one of the sides of the house. Occasionally a section of the *galerie* was enclosed for this purpose, making a room which is called today a *bas-côté*. Often, too, the kitchen stood in a building quite apart from the house. A deed of 1779 lists 'un petit batiment servant de boulangerie.' This type probably served for the most part only in the summer, since its name, even today, is *la quisine (cuisine d'été)* [summer kitchen]. Though none of them have survived, it is evident also from the deeds that nearly every house was equipped with a *four de terre* [earthen outdoor oven] (as in Quebec today), located somewhere near in the yard, where the hottest baking might be done."²¹

²⁰Henri M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West* (2d ed.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), p. 21.

²¹Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, p. 16.

"... The famous old Chouteau mansion, the first and largest house in the town [St. Louis], at various times Government House, bank, residence, trading-post, and practically fort also, was essentially only a double two-room house, with a basement and porticoes and a garret. It had but two chimneys; originally, therefore, but four fireplaces. Around these eventually a much larger building grew, but the ground-plan was not altered, and the Chouteau house was the pattern of every house built in St. Louis before the Spanish *régime* ceased to govern. This plan was the one room and chimney, the chimney between two rooms, and the hall between two chimneys, each flanked by two rooms. This last plan of the Chouteau house, a mere expansion of the one-room, one-story house of posts."²²

Christian Schultz, an American traveling in French St. Louis in 1807, found little to praise in the mansions of St. Louis. "I observed two or three BIG houses in the town, which are said to have cost from twenty to sixty thousand dollars, but they have nothing either of beauty or taste in their appearance to recommend them, being simply *big*, heavy, and unsightly structures. In this country, however, where fashion and taste differ so materially from fashion and taste with us, they are considered as something not only grand, but even elegant."²³

Washington Irving, too, was more struck with the motley population of St. Louis than with the beauty of the buildings. "Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving, and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic states; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard

²²Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, I, 307-308.

²³Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage Through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Orleans Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles* (New-York: Printed by I. Riley, 1810), II, 40.

balls, showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place."²⁴

On the other hand, a German, who had read Irving's *Astoria*, says he feels that things must have changed as if by magic by the time of his own visit in 1836 to 1837, —the "mud huts" being replaced by palatial buildings. He admits some of the creole French are idle and in need, others, however, are among the richest leading families. He was much impressed by the wealth of fruit trees that adorned the city, but greatly annoyed by the mosquitoes which made his sleep impossible.²⁵

For the most part the only fuel for the home was wood, an abundance of which was at hand in all communities, although the price of firewood rose exorbitantly in St. Louis as the size of that city increased and the demand became so great that fuel had to be brought from St. Charles and outlying villages. "Stone coal, if even then discovered, was not made use of generally until long after the American days. There was no need of it, wood being abundant, and cheap all over the country. Even as late as 1825 when the supply in the near vicinity began to grow short, it was brought on rafts from the upper rivers and sold at from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per cord. The little fuel used by blacksmiths was charcoal burnt near the villages."²⁶

"For some years after the commencement of the village settlement [St. Louis] there were no wells sunk, the underlying formation being limestone but a few feet below the surface and cropping out at various points. . . . With the exception of two or three springs, the inhabitants used the river water for all purposes, and for this reason the lots along the river front were first sought and built upon.

²⁴Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836), I, 1421-43.

²⁵T. W. Lenz, *Reise Nach Saint Louis am Mississippi; Nebst meinen, während eines viergehnmonatlichen Aufenthaltes i. d. J. 1836 und 1837, theils im Missouri-Staate, theils in Illinois gemachten beobachtungen und Erfahrungen* (Weimar, B. F. Voigt, 1838), p. 42.

²⁶Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, p. 84.

"The water was hauled up from the river in a barrel laid across two sapling poles which served for shafts, called a 'drag'. After a time a few wells were sunk, back on the second and third streets, but as they had to bore through the limestone bed-rock of the village in their excavation, they cost much money and but few undertook them.

"Col. Chouteau, who lived on his block almost sixty-five years, had made two attempts on different parts of the same; one of them was unsuccessful, the other, after going to the depth of one hundred feet, at great cost, procured a little water, but a very inadequate supply.

"Besides, it was only in the summer time that a little cold water was needed for drinking purposes, there being then no ice put up, but the river water was universally preferred, as being more wholesome and palatable."²⁷

"It is plainly evident that in houses of the sizes as described there was but little room for furniture, however desirable it might have been to possess it; with many, a bedstead and bedding, table, a few chairs, with a cupboard for their few articles of table ware, and a chest or trunk for their apparel, constituted the sum total of their possessions in that line, with some few in larger houses, a bureau or clothes-press, with other necessary articles. Of course the few comparatively wealthy ones with larger houses had more and better furniture, and some of them a little silver ware and plate, but floor carpets were not introduced into the country for many long years thereafter."²⁸

The inventories and bills of sale of the years of the French settlements show an astonishing wealth of household and personal objects of value. One of the earliest inventories made in St. Louis (1766) reveals such items [chosen at random through the long list] as: silver spoons, linen shirts, sheets and table cloths, silver forks, spoons, coat and vest of green camlet and breeches, silver candle stick, velvet breeches, damask

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

robe de chambre, silver handled sword and scabbard, 22 collars, 33 linen shirts, 3 pr. gloves, mother of pearl snuff-box, gold cross, small casket containing a gold watch in a snuff-box, etc. etc.²⁹

In Ste. Genevieve, "Inventories in the archives are almost voluptuous in their descriptions of beds—great four-posters, with the *ciel* and side-curtains; with mattresses and *traversins* stuffed with feathers or with Spanish moss (*barbe d'arbre* or *barbe espagnole*), and covered with ticking or deer-skin, with heavy sheets of linen or the *toile du pays*, and buffalo robes for crisp nights; with the *courtepointe* and *couvrepieds*, often of very fine materials. In summer a *moustiquaire* of linen, lawn, or dimity was added. A chest, a commode or armoire, and chairs completed the furnishings of this room.

"In the matter of chinaware and silver the inventories are still more Rabelaisian in detail. Near the huge dining table stood the sideboard, vast also, as may be imagined from the list of articles which it contained:—plates of sandstone, earthenware, pewter, and china (flowered, or plain with blue or gold border); drinking glasses of crystal (ordinary or long-stemmed); silver goblets; vessels for condiments—the oil and vinegar castors, the pepper and salt shakers; deep soup tou-reens; silver salad bowls; *tourtières*; tea, coffee, and chocolate pots (of pewter, china, silver); carafes of stone and crystal; dessert dishes and compotes; sugar bowls, pitchers, platters, knives, forks, spoons (of pewter and silver), table linen (plain and embroidered)—all the paraphernalia, in short, of a people who frankly liked to eat and who (while boats could be pulled by hand up weary miles of river) had no intention of not eating in comfort.

"The kitchen, in order that the rest might not be meaningless, was necessarily filled with a great quantity of articles. The curious today may see for himself in the Vallé house much of what composed a *batterie de cuisine* in the colonial days.

"In homes where there was the equivalent of a drawing room or living room, there were also some pieces of furniture of note:—chairs, arm-chairs, writing desks, tables (plain, with

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

folding wings, or gueridons) with legs square or turned, in rosewood, mahogany, walnut, cherry, cypress, and pine. Sometimes, though usually late, there is evidence of some consciousness of style. An inventory of 1804 lists a table à l'antique. But the chief glory of this department of the Creole home was undoubtedly its mirrors. Perhaps in the wilderness these were taken to be symbols of all luxury and refinement. In any event they are found in almost every inventory, three, four, five to a house: —mirrors tiny (probably for the Indian trade), mirrors half length, and the full cheval glass: mirrors round, square, oval, and rectangular; mirrors framed in wood, plain, carved, or gilded: mirrors framed in copper or silver, and in one case, even a mirror à cadre de brillants."³⁰

FOODS

Cooking was the fine art of the Frenchwoman in the valley. "As to the living, the table was provided in a very different manner from that of the generality of Americans. With the poorest French peasant, cookery is an art well understood. They make great use of vegetables, and prepared in a manner to be wholesome and palatable. Instead of roast and fried, they had soups and fricassees and gumbos (a dish supposed to be derived from the Africans), and a variety of other dishes."³¹

To a land rich in native fruits, nuts, and wild game, as was the valley to which they came, these settlers added their gardens, "on a very limited scale, confined at first mainly to corn for their bread; potatoes and turnips, pumpkins, and melons in their common fields, and no more of these than were necessary for their own consumption, as there would have been no market for any surplus, and each one his little garden patch contiguous to his residence, where he raised his little supply of kitchen truck."³²

³⁰Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, pp. 17-18.

³¹Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, pp. 21-22.

³²Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 84-85.

"In a few years [in St. Louis], after the erection of Laclede's water mill, they added wheat to their bread stuffs. The cultivation of these products constituted the whole of their agricultural labors during these early years. They needed no meadows, the wild prairie grass abounding all over the country affording abundance of nutritious hay for their animals, upon which they thrived and kept in the best of condition throughout the year, grain seldom being given, except occasionally to a working animal, they had no need of oats. Their gardens furnished them peas, beans, cabbages, beets, carrots, etc., the woods and prairies plenty of wild game, the streams plenty of fish, and with their beef, poultry, eggs, milk and butter there was abundance in the land, because the consumers were but few."³³

"We may suppose that people who ate at tables covered with embroidered linen, lighted by candles in silver holders, did not always sit down to coarse and disagreeable meals. The fare of the veriest peasant, in fact, (contrasted with that of his peers in France) offers one explanation for his presence in a far land. Gardens and orchards provided the vegetables, the salads, the fruits so necessary to the French; game might be had for the shooting; a good wine could be made of the wild grape; wheat bread was plentiful enough that breads of corn-meal were thought fit only for the *voyageurs*; maple sugar was made after the Indian fashion and was used, with wild bee honey, to sweeten coffee (or a substitute made of rye). For the winter fruits were dried, and corn (for a soup still called *'tsit blé*); meat had been salted or *boucannée* [smoked]; rabbits, squirrels, 'possums, turkeys and certain other birds might still be had; nuts had been stored; *taffia* [liquor made of molasses] and wine were still on tap, so that it was an indolent man who could not provide in any season a merry and sustaining meal.

"As in the case of furniture and clothing, too, the villagers of means were not deprived of more civilized fare, of daintier foods to supplement the native diet. Thus, in the archives, and in the Vallé papers especially, there are records of maderia

³³*Ibid.*, p. 85.

and wines of better brands, liqueurs, vinegar and olive oil, cheeses, mustard, rice, chocolate, preserved fruits and cigars from Havana. These things, with a suckling pig, bear steaks, deer, game-birds, vegetables, salads, and wild fruits (among others the native paw-paw and the persimmon) might yet, in the hands of a resourceful cook, yield a dinner which would not displease."³⁴

HEALTH

"... the Creoles, or native inhabitants, are partly the descendants of the French Canadians, and partly of those who migrated under some of the first governors of Louisiana. These are intermixed with some natives of France, Spain, Germany, and the United States, and in many instances with the Aborigines.

"Most of them are small in stature, and slender in their make, though their bodies and limbs are remarkably well proportioned, supple, and active. Their complexions are somewhat sallow, and exhibit a sickly aspect, though they experience a good degree of health, which results in a great measure from the nature of their food, (mostly of the vegetable kind) and their manner of dressing it. They usually possess a piercing eye, and retain their sight longer than most other people. They are almost strangers to the gout, consumption, the gravel and stone in the bladder, and in general to all chronic complaints. The hair of the old people in the Delta, and the neighborhood of it, retains a dark brown color; while that of the old people in Upper Louisiana commonly becomes grey. . . .

"The complexions of the women are, in general, much fairer than those of the men. . . . They are usually handsome when young, but when arrived to the age of thirty-five or forty, their bloom mostly forsakes them, and they become wrinkled and withered."³⁵

³⁴Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, pp. 18-19.

³⁵Stoddard, *Sketches of Louisiana*, pp. 323-324.

Although relatively free from chronic ailments, the French suffered, as did all the early settlers, from regional and seasonal epidemics.

"The settlements of this territory, have in some measure obtained the character of being unhealthy. There is no doubt, but that, as in other parts of the western country which have not been properly put under cultivation, autumnal fevers will prevail. The vicinity of the lakes has not been remarked as more unhealthy than at a distance: convenience generally induces the settler to choose this situation. It is a prevailing notion, that to be sick the first summer, is what every settler must expect. . . . From the first of August to the last of September is considered the most unhealthy. Much depends upon the care which the settler takes in avoiding whatever may tend to produce sickness. The scorching heat of the sun is universally agreed to be unfavorable to health. Night dews and exhalations are not less so. . . . The mephitic exhalations from putrid vegetables, and from enormous masses of putrifying trees, in the new clearings, also contribute to this insalubrity. The fields of corn, with which the settler surrounds his cabin, are thought by many to be another cause; the foliage of the corn is so rich and massy, that it shades the earth, and prevents the action of the sun from exhaling unwholesome damps."³⁶

"The marsh exhalations, combined with the heat, will always generate fevers." In the low lands the luxuriant growth of foliage, and the rapid decomposition of vegetable matter, especially after floods, were liable to lead to fevers, dysentery, and agues. During the summers, cholera infantum, cholera morbus, dysentery, bilious fevers all prevailed. Also sore eyes, and the "milk" sickness, were prevalent. The more common home remedies seem to have been calomel, castor oil, salts, sulphate of quinine, and Peruvian bark in the crude state.³⁷ Smallpox first appeared in St. Louis in 1799, and hence the year was called "année de la picotté."

³⁶Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, pp. 111-112.

³⁷John Mason Peck, *A New Guide for Emigrants to the West Containing Sketches of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, and the Territory of Wisconsin and the Adjacent Parts* (2d ed.; Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1837), pp. 79-87.

They also were susceptible to the everyday ills such as pleurisy, paralysis, sunstroke, measles, jaundice, as well as the accidents that occur, now as then, to men working in the fields and forests. Snake-bite was feared, and spider-bite is recorded with fatal consequences.

"Among the village ordinances [Ste. Genevieve] there is one (July 22, 1797) in which Francois Vallé, alarmed by the number of the sick, and informed by *des médecins instruits* [capable doctors] that the cause is stagnant water left by recent floods, orders that two *syndics* be elected on the next Sunday to visit the waterfront and plan the draining of swampy areas."²⁸

²⁸Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve*, p. 41.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

MEMBERS ACTIVE IN INCREASING SOCIETY'S MEMBERSHIP

During the three months from February through April, 1946, the following members of the Society increased its membership as indicated:

EIGHT NEW MEMBERS

Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City

FIVE NEW MEMBERS

Denslow, Ray V., Trenton

FOUR NEW MEMBERS

Winkelmaier, Robert C., St. Louis

THREE NEW MEMBERS

Burton, W. J., St. Louis
Rich, Homer E., Marshall

Rivers, Ernest, New Orleans, Louisiana
Thomson, R. M., St. Charles

TWO NEW MEMBERS

Coon, Walter A., Springfield
Harris, W. W., Salt Lake City, Utah
McIlvaine, J. Edward, St. Louis

Parsons, Mrs. Mayme, Defiance
Williams, Roy D., Boonville

ONE NEW MEMBER

Allen, Arthur W., Springfield
Ball, Brooks R., Kansas City
Barnhill, F. E., Marshall
Bradley, John H., Jefferson City
Brashear, Minnie M., Kirksville
Carter, W. R., Columbia
Cleaveland, A. B., Kingston
Corrigan, Mrs. James B., St. Louis
Cosby, Byron, Columbia
Crawford, Emma, Columbia
Henry, Clifford E., Kirksville
Houts, Mrs. Hale, Kansas City
Hunter, Stephen B., Cape Girardeau
Jayne, Edward M., Kirksville
Kiskaddon, A. H., St. Louis

Knipmeyer, Gilbert, Jefferson City
Meador, Barclay, St. Louis
Nelson, Lyman B., Springfield
Osborn, Mrs. D. R., Kansas City
Powers, Everett, Carthage
Rozier, Mrs. George A., Jefferson City
Scarritt, W. H., Kansas City
Smiley, George B., Hannibal
Smith, Frederick M., Independence
Smith, Luther Ely, St. Louis
Stern, Edgar J., Kansas City
Warren, W. O., Fresno, California
Wroughton, E. B., Glover
Wood, Guy M., University City

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

February-April 1946

One hundred thirty applications for membership were received by the Society during the three months from February to April 1946, inclusive. The total annual membership as of April 30, 1946, is 4164.

The new members are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Adams, Mrs. Ben C., Jr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma | Ewing, M. W., Trenton |
| Allen, Joseph Hunter, New Madrid | Fleming, R. Bain, Trenton |
| Allin, Curtis S., Jefferson City | Flier, Mary Y., St. Louis |
| Barr, R. L., Exeter | Forster, W. Y., Springfield |
| Beeny, Mrs. Carroll, Sheldon | Frost, Mrs. Barret, Columbia |
| Bess, J. L., St. Louis | Gabbert, Georgianna, St. Louis |
| Bethel Public Schools, Bethel | Gibson, Mrs. Melburn, Mexico |
| Blue Valley Branch Library, Kansas City | Gregory, Mrs. Floyd, Houston, Texas |
| Boydston, H. C., Kansas City | Hamburger, Mrs. Harry, St. Louis |
| Brashear, Mark B., St. Charles | Hardesty, Benson C., Cape Girardeau |
| Brown, Elizabeth G., St. Louis | Hardin, M. Guy, Clayton |
| Browne, Mrs. Leland, Kansas City | Harris, Lloyd M., New York, New York |
| Burton, Clarence, Fulton | Hatchett, James M., Rolla |
| Byrd, Mrs. William, San Antonio, Texas | Heins, Mardelle, Blackburn |
| Carlisle, Robert G., Louisiana | Hereford, Mrs. John, St. Louis |
| Central Branch Library, Kansas City | Hess, Otto, Leavenworth, Kansas |
| Chestnut, L. O., St. Louis | Hill, Elmer C., Columbia |
| Clark, Bayard, St. Louis | Holmes, Mrs. Chauncey D., Columbia |
| Compton, Mrs. Arthur H., St. Louis | Horwitz, Mr. and Mrs. Rollo, St. Louis |
| Cook, Arthur, Blackburn | Hudson, C. A., Phoenix, Arizona |
| Cox, Allen W., St. Louis | Hunt, Mary Frances, Columbia |
| Crawford, Emma, Columbia | Hutson, C. W., St. Louis |
| Curran, R. W., Little Rock, Arkansas | Jayne, Sears, Columbia |
| Denslow, William R., Barrington, Illinois | Jertberg, Gilbert, Fresno, California |
| Dewitt, James N., Kirksville | Johnson, Frank R., Kansas City |
| Dillard, R. E., Springfield | Jones, Charles J., Pierce City |
| East Branch Library, Kansas City | Kaucher, Lawrence, Los Gatos, California |
| Easterday, J. Lloyd, Hamilton | Lakeman, Catherine, St. Louis |
| Evans, Elmer C., Grand Rapids, Michigan | Latimer, Jake, Caruthersville |
| | Letts, W. J., St. Joseph |

- Liles, Opie C., Poplar Bluff
 McIlvaine, George S., Fort Worth, Texas
 McKee, Howard I., University City
 McKee, N. L., St. Charles
 McLeod, James D., Salem
 Maloney, John C., Kansas City
 Markel, A. D., Poplar Bluff
 Meador, B. F., Washington, D. C.
 Mooney, Belle S., Kansas City
 Mt. Washington Branch Library, Kansas City
 Neenan, Mrs. Jack, Columbia
 Northeast Branch Library, Kansas City
 Packard, Eugene L., Springfield
 Palmer, Edward C., Glendale
 Parsons, Mrs. Laura, Defiance
 Paseo Branch Library, Kansas City
 Patin, John A., Lake Charles, Louisiana
 Peltier, Mrs. John N., Wakenda
 Peterson, Mrs. Mildred, Columbia
 Pettker, Elmer G., St. Louis
 Phillips, Richard H., Wichita Falls, Texas
 Potashnick, Mrs. R. B., Cape Girardeau
 Pruitt, Frank G., Mt. Vernon
 Reed, Floyd R., Poplar Bluff
 Rephlo, Joseph H., Jefferson City
 Re nik, Sylvester, Poplar Bluff
 Rich, Paul, Jefferson City
 Richards, Harry, Kirkwood
 Ringer, E. C., Columbia
 Robertson, Mrs. H. Lodge, Kansas City
 Saunders, Mrs. E. L., Independence
 Schibsy, Frank, Kansas City
 Schlunkert, F. H., University City
 Schmidt, Lewis H., St. Louis
 Schmidt, Nola, Blackburn
 Schrantz, Ward L., Carthage
 Sebree, Mrs. J. B., LaJolla, California
 Selvidge, B. H., Poplar Bluff
 Slay, Raymond P., Poplar Bluff
 Smith, Sherman A., Joplin
 Smith, Mrs. T. Townsend, Lincoln, Nebraska
 Smith, Wesley, Jefferson City
 Snyder, Faye, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Sparks, Nita, Columbia
 Spencer, B. H., Poplar Bluff
 Stahlbehl, Isadore, St. Louis
 Stephanus, Mrs. Edward M., University City
 Sterling, H. W., Duenweg
 Stumberg, Mrs. Henry K., St. Charles
 Swackhamer, T. Cecil, Marshall
 Tedrow, J. H., Kansas City
 Thurman, Gervis H., Maplewood
 Tuepker, Mrs. Waldo, Defiance
 Uhlmann, Paul, Kansas City
 University of Colorado Library, Boulder, Colorado
 University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois
 Vetter, Ernest G., New Orleans, Louisiana
 Voertman, Fred W., St. Louis
 Van Phul, Grace, St. Louis
 Walter, Mrs. Harvey S., Columbia
 Ward, Mrs. M. Estell, Phoenix, Arizona
 Warner, Mrs. A. B., Tacoma, Washington
 Weary, W. G., Richmond
 Webb, Richard, St. Louis
 West Branch Library, Kansas City
 Westover, John G., Columbia
 Westport Branch Library, Kansas City
 Willever, E. S., Springfield
 Williams, Frank J., Kansas City
 Wolff, Mrs. Oscar H. J., St. Louis
 Yetter, M. N., Henrietta

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY HOLDS ANNUAL MEETING

The State Historical Society held its fortieth annual meeting in Columbia, April 25, 1946. After a meeting by the executive committee at eleven A.M., the members met for a reception at the Daniel Boone Hotel, followed by a luncheon at 12:30. The guests were addressed by Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri artist, on the subject, "An Artist Looks at His Public." Dr. Isidor Loeb, president of the Society, presided and introduced the speaker.

The annual business meeting was held in the afternoon in the rooms of the Society in the Library Building. Resolutions of appreciation of trustees of the Society who had died during the past year were presented and unanimously adopted. William Southern, Jr., presented a memorial honoring the late Frederick M. Smith, and Allen McReynolds presented one in honor of the late Morris Anderson.

Trustees who were elected for three-year terms, ending at the annual meeting in 1949, were those whose term expired at the annual meeting of 1946. The new trustees include: Jesse W. Barrett, St. Louis; Albert M. Clark, Richmond; Henry J. Haskell, Kansas City; William R. Painter, Carrollton; Joseph Pulitzer, St. Louis; James Todd, Moberly; Jonas Viles, Columbia; T. Ballard Watters, Marshfield; and L. M. White, Mexico.

Judge Albert L. Reeves of Kansas City was elected to fill the unexpired term of trusteeship, ending in 1947, held by the late Dr. Smith, and G. L. Zwick of St. Joseph was elected to fill the unexpired term of the late Morris Anderson.

The report of Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary, covered the activities of the Society for the year including rank and membership, collections and publications, and services. The most important aspects of the report referred to the activities of the staff of the Society in making available to the public the acquisitions made earlier and in 1945. This includes expanding the J. Christian Bay collection, preparing for publication the Vance Randolph manuscript collection of Ozark Folk-songs, arranging for display the Daniel R. Fitzpatrick collection of 1302 cartoons, and expanding the George Caleb

Bingham historical art collection by the acquisition of his paintings, "Order No. 11" and the "Scene on the Ohio," and materials of his sister Amanda, and the publication of the manuscript diary of his father.

Other business reports included that of the treasurer of the Society, R. B. Price, on the annual balance sheet for 1945, and read in his absence by Rush H. Limbaugh of Cape Girardeau, third vice-president, and the financial report of the executive and financial committees, presented by E. E. Swain.

Following the business meeting in the afternoon, the officers, trustees, and members of the Society viewed the Benton war paintings and the J. Christian Bay collection of Western Americana, and attended the formal opening of the Fitzpatrick gallery of cartoons, the outstanding event of the session.

WEEKLY FEATURE ARTICLES OF THE SOCIETY

The latest articles in this series which is published in city and county newspapers throughout the State include a variety of subjects; among them: the history of a Missourian who became a "count" with ten million acres in the Southwest, the church supper, pioneer gardens, the scarcity of pure water, clean streets, and vegetables in the diet during the last century, exhibitions, dancing schools, and that pleasant habit, the coffee hour. The articles released during April, May, and June are as follows:

April: "Confectioners Could Make or Break Hostess' Reputation in Missouri's Ante-Bellum Days," "Important Business Was Often Transacted During Coffee Hour," "Pioneers Ate Raw Vegetables as Germans Did Apples," and "Drinking Unpurified Water from the Muddy Missouri Took Courage Until Habit Was Formed."

* *May:* "'Hawgs' and Dirty Streets Was a Familiar Spectacle in Missouri's 'Good Old Days'," "Children's Dancing Classes Were Schools in Good Manners," "Anything and Everything Was Exhibited by and to Missourians," "The Count Took the 'Count'," and "Decoration Day Was Suggested by Greek Custom of Garlanding the Heroes with Olive Wreaths."

June: "Roads Were Jammed with People Fleeing from Missouri Towns during Cholera Epidemic of 1833," "Pioneer Women Brought Beauty to the Missouri Wilderness," "The Case of the Poor Church Mice," "Oratorical Fireworks and Too Much Food Were Characteristics of Fourth of July Celebrations," and "Missourians Celebrated the Fourth of July with a 'Bang'."

SOCIETY ACQUIRES VALUABLE COLLECTION
OF CIVIL WAR LETTERS

Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Lazear, commander of the First Cavalry Regiment, Missouri State Militia, has left in a collection of letters to his family and documents relating to his military activities a picture of life in Missouri during the Civil War. The total collection numbers 161 items, including 78 personal letters, 45 military letters and documents covering the period, 1861-1867, and 38 papers concerning his later life.

Originally a major of the Twelfth Cavalry, M.S.M., at Louisiana, Missouri, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel on court martial duty at Warrensburg. In the midst of his concern for a child who was "big enough to be a good girl now" and the health of his wife, his letters contain significant data on local conditions:

There is hundreds of people leaving their homes from this country and God knows what is to become of them it is heartsickening to see what I have seen since I have been back here [Lexington, September 10, 1863] a desolated country and women children, some of them almost naked, some on foot and some in old wagons. Oh God, what a sight to see in this once happy and peaceable country. . . .

The military documents reveal Lazear's work in breaking up guerilla bands in 1863 and 1864, particularly in September, 1864, when he was involved in the reign of terror in Lafayette and Saline counties.

Following the war he served briefly as a railway postal clerk and was appointed postmaster in Auxvasse in 1884 and 1889. One letter indicates that he contributed material on the Shelby raid and Price's campaign to Wiley Britton for the latter's history, *Civil War in Missouri*.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

Local historians will be interested in a résumé of activities open to them which was published in the July-September, 1945, issue of the *State and Local History News*, the publication of the American Association for State and Local History. This sums up so concisely some of the matters which interest local investigators that it is here reprinted:

1. Opportunities for the local historian
 - a. Collection and preservation of public records
 - b. Collection of materials relating to local history
 - (1) Kinds of materials
 - (a) Printed: local histories, family histories, biographies, directories, maps, atlases, gazetteers, newspapers, periodicals
 - (b) Unprinted: private letters, diaries, account books, business records, cemetery inscriptions, records of churches, fraternal and other local societies, genealogy, photographs, and pictures
 - (c) Oral: old residents' reminiscences, local tales, folklore, ghostlore, ballads, music, place names
 - (d) Objects: keepsakes, heirlooms, relics
 - (2) Where found
attics, storage, trunks
 - (3) How found
auctions, sale of houses, spring cleaning
 - c. Publication
 - (1) Media
 - (a) Printed: newspapers, pamphlets, books, historical magazines (local or state wide)
 - (b) Other: Multigraph, mimeograph, lithoprint, hectograph
 - (c) Financing
 - (d) Editorial assistance
 - d. Popularizing local history
 - (1) Essay contests
 - (2) Special display contests—drawings, collections, etc.
 - (3) Exhibits in libraries, museums, store windows
 - (4) Pageants and dramatics
 - (5) Letters and articles in local press
 - (6) Use of radio

- e. The local historical society
 - (1) Encouragement of interest in antiques and hobbies, e. g. silver, china, prints, needlecraft, weaving, furniture, jewelry, stamps, coins, photographs, prints, models, early editions
 - (2) Inventory of community resources
 - (3) Programs of meetings
 - (4) Aiding in building collections
- f. Relations with local organized groups
 - (1) Patriotic and fraternal societies
 - (2) Schools
 - (3) Libraries
 - (4) Museums
- g. Collection of war records
 - (1) War service records
 - (a) Forms
 - (b) What information to collect:
 - vital statistics, war service, photographs
 - (c) Sources of information
 - relatives or service personnel, newspapers, army and navy releases
 - (2) Other war records
- 2. The preservation of historic sites
 - a. Types of sites
 - houses, iron works, potteries, textile mills, stores, blacksmiths' shops
 - b. Renovation or restoration
 - c. Contents to be in keeping with period
 - d. Historic markers

SPRING MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

The Archaeological Society of Missouri held its annual spring meeting in Columbia, April 25. The members reported on their archaeological work and interests since the date of the last meeting of the society in December, 1942. The meeting was mainly devoted to a discussion of the best means of preserving those prehistoric remains which will be exposed by the building of levees along the Missouri River and the dams on its tributaries. Organization of field work to rescue the archaeological materials which will be flooded by the building of the dams was also considered. The *Missouri Archaeologist*,

publication of which was also interrupted by the war, will resume publication this fall and it is hoped to publish it regularly in the future.

PROPOSED MEMORIAL TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

To George Rogers Clark, who stalked the Ohio valley to wrest the Old Northwest from the British, belongs the credit for much of the continental expansion of the nation, although he has not yet been given a niche in America's Hall of Fame on New York University heights. The *Filson Club History Quarterly*, published in Louisville, Kentucky, has suggested through its editorial columns in the January, 1946, issue that such a memorial should be erected to him. "None of his compeers . . . saw the future of the continent as he did . . . At the fateful moment, George Rogers Clark seized an empire, the cradle of our five great states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. And it is not too far fetched to conjecture that he saved to the future Union Kentucky, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania."

ACTIVITIES OF COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The Boone County Historical Society has reprinted copies in pamphlet form of the "Act Defining the Limits of Howard County, and Laying Off New Counties Within the Limits of Said County, as Heretofore defined," dated November 16, 1820. This act established and defined the limits of Boone County.

The Boonslick Historical Society met in New Franklin, May 15, for an address by Lilburn A. Kingsbury on "Funeral Folklore and Burial Places in the Boonslick Region."

The Clay County Historical Society held its annual dinner meeting, March 4, in Liberty. Frank Lauder of Kansas City displayed his color photographs of Missouri scenes which he has collected over a period of about twenty years. The officers of the Society are as follows: Mrs. Robert S. Withers,

president; John E. Davis, vice-president; Mrs. J. E. Deems, secretary; Mrs. Kathryn McKinley, treasurer; and Miss Bonnie Hill, historian.

A record of 500 marriage licenses issued to early Cole County residents has been compiled by the Cole County Historical Society and the local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Lists of some of the marriages were published in the Jefferson City *Post-Tribune* issues of February 3 and March 17. Historical articles by members of the Society include: "Letters Recite Interesting Details of Early Day Marriages," by Mary Frances Gentry, published March 17, and "Imperial Club of 1877," by George Hope, Jr., April 21, 1946.

The Historical Association of Greater St. Louis met in the Jefferson Memorial, April 5, for a symposium on modern Russia by Professors Donald McFayden and Dietrich Gerhard of Washington University, Samuel Johnson of Harris Teachers College, and Paul Steinbicker of St. Louis University.

The tenth annual dinner of the association was given May 17 at Concordia Theological Seminary. President A. B. Bender gave an address entitled, "An Officer on the Frontier in the Nineteenth Century."

The Native Sons of Kansas City met March 19 for an address by Professor Jay W. Hudson, professor emeritus of the University of Missouri and now at the University of Kansas City, on the subject, "Democracy at Stake." The *Year Book* for 1946, which has recently been published, is dedicated to commemorating the centennial anniversary of the permanent platting and sale of the town of Kansas, April 30, 1846.

A feature article on the Pettis County Historical Society appeared in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 11. The Society soon going into its fourth year began with a fund of \$12.00, and now has a museum of more than 1000 separate items and a treasury of more than \$800.

ANNIVERSARIES

The two hundred third anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson was celebrated April 12 at the Old Courthouse in St. Louis under the sponsorship of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association. The principal address, "Thomas Jefferson As a Scientist," was given by Dr. Arthur H. Compton, Chancellor of Washington University. J. R. Mueller presented to the Association an original letter of President Jefferson written to John W. Eppes, December 9, 1802.

The *Liberty Tribune* celebrated the centennial anniversary of its founding with the issue of March 14, 1946. The paper was established in 1846 by Robert H. Miller in 1846, the oldest newspaper in Missouri with continuous circulation under the same name, having modified on July 16, 1852, the name merely from *Weekly Tribune* to *Liberty Tribune*. The other two papers rivaling the *Tribune* are the *Fulton Telegraph*, which, eleven months older than the *Tribune*, missed publication in December, 1861, January and February, 1862, and the *Paris Mercury*, no longer published as a separate publication. The anniversary edition contained articles on the newspaper's history by Russell V. Dye, E. L. Pigg, and Floyd C. Shoemaker.

The centennial anniversary celebration of the founding of the Polar Star Lodge, No. 79, A. F. and A. M. of St. Louis, was held May 6. The program included an address on St. Louis history by McCune Gill, assisted by Ralph F. D'Oench.

The ninety-third anniversary of the founding of Washington University was celebrated February 21 in St. Louis with a dinner honoring Dr. Arthur H. Compton, who was also inaugurated ninth chancellor of the University at that time. Dr. Compton gave an address at his inauguration, and a luncheon meeting held that night in his honor was addressed by Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Central Missouri State Teachers College at Warrensburg was celebrated May 9 and 10. The college, which will be renamed Central Missouri State College this year, will emphasize other departments as well as its present function of the training of teachers. The two-day celebration featured a parade with floats, memorial services, and a home-coming convocation of its alumni, inaugurating the jubilee which will continue until October 11, when the climax will be provided by the annual home-coming football game of the college.

A diamond anniversary pageant was given in the high school stadium in Pierce City, May 8, to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town. The two-hour pageant was written and directed by Mrs. Joy Brown of the high school.

The First Congregational Church of Webster Groves, organized in 1886, observed the sixtieth anniversary of its establishment, February 3.

The Mt. Calvary Lutheran Church of Brentwood, St. Louis County, celebrated its fifteenth anniversary, February 3.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Beginning with the first historic marker erected on the Old Rock House in St. Louis, in 1933, the Junior Chamber of commerce has erected 201 markers identifying and interpreting sites and structures of historic interest in St. Louis, including seven markers erected in 1945. Based on research by Dr. William G. Swekosky, the plaques at the following sites were placed during the past year: (1) the Christy twin houses at 213-215 South Third Street; (2) site of the publication of William M. Reedy's *Sunday Mirror*, 516 Walnut Street; (3) the Gay building, 204 North Third Street, headquarters of the owners of the Granite Mountain silver mine in Montana, the site where William Jennings Bryan received financial aid for the 1896 presidential campaign, and the offices of Reedy,

1894-1897; (4) the Russell-Allen home, 1842-1921, at 917 Russell Avenue; (5) 111 South Fourth Street, site of marriage of General Winfield Scott Hancock, who served in the Mexican, Seminole, and Civil wars and was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1880; (6) the Hammond-O'Fallon house, erected in 1815, 217 South Third Street; (7) the General Stephen W. Kearny house, corner of Seventh and Elm streets. Kearny, a distinguished soldier of the War of 1812 on the frontier, in the Mexican War, and in California during the period of the Bear Flag state, married in St. Louis the stepdaughter of General William Clark and commanded the western military department at Jefferson Barracks, 1842-1846, and 1848. Mr. J. O. Spreen, also of St. Louis, presented to the State Historical Society copies of the historical data and photographs of the Russell and Christy houses, and a supplement to the list of markers already compiled by the committee.

A memorial service in honor of the late Cornelius H. Skinker was held February 18 in the circuit court room in Bolivar where he had presided during terms of court for more than thirty-one years. Expressions of tribute were given by Judge Charles H. Jackson, present circuit judge, and the members of the Polk County bar.

NOTES

The Missouri Historical Society met in the Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis, March 1, for the presentation of the second series of historical views of early St. Louis by McCune Gill and Ralph D'Oench. On April 30 the Society met for an address by Major General Leif J. Sverdrup, "War and Peace in the Pacific."

The Department of English of the University of Missouri accepted in 1945 the eighteenth and concluding thesis in what has become nationally known as the "Missouri Place Names Project," in progress for nearly a decade. Dr. Robert L. Ramsay, the director, has been given a grant from the University to catalog the place names which his graduate students have

traced in every county and township in the state. From the thesis of Anne E. Atchison, "Place Names of Five West-Central Missouri Counties," was taken the data for an article by Paul L. Fisher, Jr., entitled, "Origin of Many Missouri Place Names Traced in a House-to-House Survey," published in the *Kansas City Times*, April 10, 1946. The article touches upon some of the place names in Jackson County.

Frances T. Schwab of St. Louis has been given one of the eight awards under the Library of Congress program of grants-in-aid for studies in the history of American civilization, established by the Rockefeller Foundation. Her subject is "A Study of the Origins of Modern Household Design in the Victorian Age in America."

The Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, has announced seventy awards providing for study and research in the social sciences, of which thirty-eight were granted under the Demobilization Award program to assist in the return to academic and research careers of social scientists whose work has been seriously disrupted by service in the armed forces or other war activities. The awards in the field of history include that given to Samuel Davis, who received an M. A. degree from the University of Missouri in 1940 and is a former lieutenant in the USNR. His study will refer to attitudes adopted by the English Labor party toward foreign affairs, 1919-1924.

Awards of thirty-six post-service fellowships of approximately \$2500 each by the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation have been granted exclusively to young scholars and artists who have served the nation's war effort in the armed and other governmental services. Among these was that awarded to Bernard Weinberg, a former captain in the Army and an assistant professor of romance languages, Washington University, St. Louis. His topic for research is a history of literary theory in the Italian Renaissance.

A joint show of the works of Daniel R. Fitzpatrick, editorial cartoonist of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and Wallace Herndon Smith, St. Louis artist, opened in April at the Associated American Artists Galleries in New York. The Fitzpatrick cartoons for display are those drawn since 1941; Smith, who refers to work entirely in oil, is showing a portrait of Fitzpatrick. The cartoonist has presented the State Historical Society with 1302 original drawings which were put on public display after the annual meeting of the Society, April 25.

The definitive monograph on the life and work of George Caleb Bingham, the "Missouri Artist," is now being prepared by E. Maurice Bloch of New York University, formerly a member of the Art Department of the University of Missouri. Having uncovered a considerable number of previously unlisted pictures and referred to many unpublished letters, he desires information from Missourians owning paintings by Bingham, or documents relating to him, which may be included in the monograph. Correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloch, 405 West 57th Street, New York City.

The National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior has published a pamphlet, "Information Relating to the National Park System," which contains in its list of national historical sites, recreational demonstration areas, and the national park system areas, mention of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, Cuivre River, Montserrat, and the Lake of the Ozarks area.

A very valuable collection of material concerning Christian College in Columbia, Missouri, has been presented to the State Historical Society by Mrs. Mary Banks Parry in the name of her father, H. H. Banks, the nephew of J. K. Rogers, president of Christian College, 1858-1877. Besides programs, a memorial biography of Rogers, and catalogs, the main portion of the collection consists of eleven manuscript ledgers covering the period, 1858-1882 a personal journal, 1862-1882, expense accounts, lists of pupils, courses, honors lists, and

invoices of furniture and equipment. With the gift was included a broadside, formerly owned by Governor Thomas T. Crittenden, of his proclamation offering \$5,000 reward for the arrest of Frank and Jesse James, dated July 28, 1881.

Mrs. Sara Lockwood Williams of Rockford, Illinois, has presented the Society with a collection of manuscripts concerning her husband, Walter Williams, totalling 760 items of 1030 pages. The collection relates in general to his personal work and career as dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism. It is widely representative of the field which it covers, ranging from travel albums and correspondence to journalism course notes. Two items relate to his presidency of the University—a folio manuscript testimonial upon his election in 1930 and a newspaper clipping collection of 1935 concerning his resignation. Two scrapbooks on foreign travel are the only items not within the twenty-seven years of his administration of the School of Journalism, 1908-1935. The collection is not open to the public.

With the exception of James H. Bridger, Kansas City has virtually forgotten the numerous mountain men, noted in their day, who lived in or had their headquarters in this area or made it the scene of their annual rendezvous when they returned from a winter of trapping in the shining mountains of the West. Two of these less well-known figures, Louis Vasquez, partner of Bridges, and Major Andrew J. Drips, pioneer of the American Fur Company, are the subjects of an article by John Edward Hicks, entitled, "Dust of Oblivion is Gathering on This Area's Forgotten Mountain Men," published in the *Kansas City Star*, April 15, 1946.

A special series of four illustrated talks, "The Louisiana Purchase," was presented at the Old Courthouse in St. Louis during March. The lectures included: "Louisiana, Pawn of Empires," March 10; "Trouble on the Mississippi," March 17; "Buying America's Future," March 24; and "Possessing the New Land," March 31. The talks were offered by the National Park Service and were open to the public.

A "Johnny Appleseed Source Book," was compiled by Robert C. Harris and published in the *Old Fort News* of Fort Wayne, Indiana, in the March-June, 1945, issue by the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. The collection includes family and church records, reminiscences published in newspapers in 1871, estate papers orders by John Chapman (Johnny Appleseed) for apple trees, and leases of land by him in return for the barter of apple trees.

During the past year the State Historical Society has acquired microfilmed copies of the newspapers of the following towns and cities: Bethany, Missouri, *Harrison County Clipper*, 1944; Ironton, Missouri, *Mountain Echo*, 1944; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1945; Independence, Missouri, *Evening and Morning Star*, June, 1832-July, 1833; and Kirtland, Ohio, *Evening and Morning Star*, December, 1833-September, 1834 (the Kirtland reprint of 1835-1836).

To Missouri may have come the first French student sent west of the Mississippi for instruction in the French language, according to an article entitled, "Missouri's First French Student," by Dorothy Penn, published in the *French Review*, January, 1946. Henri Marie Brackenridge was sent by his father in 1792 from Pennsylvania to Ste. Genevieve to learn French.

George F. Green, president of the Native Sons of Kansas City, has presented the Society with a photostatic copy of the "Map of the town of Kansas, 1846," from a replica of the original engineering plat. The streets were planned to be fifty or sixty feet wide, and a "public squair" was located at the source of a spring. Thirty-three blocks were arranged around the streets from First to Fifth, and included from east to west, Market, Vine, Walnut, Main, Delaware, and Wyandotte streets.

"Buffalo Bill" Cody is again riding the West, this time in controversies arising from the centennial anniversary celebrations of his birth, February 26, 1846. When he died in

Denver in 1917, he was interred on Lookout Mountain in a grave of rock covered with fifteen tons of concrete and old railroad iron. North Platte, Nebraska, where he had built a home with two stuffed buffalo flanking the front door, and Cody, Wyoming, where his grandson William Garlow now lives, both wanted to enshrine him in their own towns and threatened to kidnap the body. Both Denver and towns in Wyoming planned centennial celebrations this year. William F. Cody married Louisa Frederici in St. Louis in 1866.

There was slight trace of the "cow town" in Kansas City in the 1880's and 1890's, according to an article by Pierre R. Porter entitled, "Everything Up-to-Date in Kansas City in the 'Glamour Decade' of 1880-1890," published in the *Kansas City Times*, February 15. Cable cars, the Exposition building, Miss Brann's school, and progressive women were some of the obvious features of the city's rapid growth during the decade.

According to a bill perfected in the Missouri State House of Representatives, January 23, a memorial to Samuel L. Clemens would be established. The memorial would be located in the state capitol and would include a portrait of the author by a famous artist, several original manuscripts, and other mementoes.

A series of well-illustrated historical feature articles on the towns of St. Louis County were published in the *St. Louis Star-Times* in the following issues: "Webster Groves," by Robert A. Hereford, February 14; "University City," by Foster Eaton, February 15; "Ferguson," by Robert A. Hereford, February 16; "Clayton," by Richard Everett, February 18; "Maplewood," by Robert A. Hereford, February 19; "Kirkwood," by Robert A. Hereford, February 20; "Richmond Heights," by Robert A. Hereford, February 21; "Florissant," by Robert A. Hereford, February 22; "Normandy," by Robert A. Hereford, February 23; "Ladue," by Foster Eaton, February 25; "Wellston," by Robert A. Hereford, February 26;

"Brentwood," by Foster Eaton, February 27; "Valley Park," by Robert Hillard, February 28; and "St. Louis County," by Foster Eaton and Robert Hillard, March 1.

Local history's important place in the general subject was the topic for an editorial by Chester A. Bradley in his column, "Missouri Notes," in the *Kansas City Times*, February 8. "Few Missouri communities have a Mark Twain or a Pershing, but the record of every town, large or small, is usually of surprising interest, once it is intelligently compiled in historical form. Records of various kinds and mementoes could well be collected as the start of local historical societies and museums. Schools and libraries could help in perpetuating local history for future generations. As to the war effort, many boys and girls will know more about reconversion problems than the great service their elders gave before they were born or while they were too young to fully understand. Missouri has much to preserve and perpetuate. There is much of great local value and pride even if it is not of state or national significance at this time."

General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Veterans' Bureau, received an honorary LL. D. degree from Drury College, Springfield, March 18.

Henry C. Chiles of Lexington, second vice-president of the State Historical Society, addressed the Rotary Club in Richmond April 19. His subject was a brief history and a résumé of the work of the Society.

A pamphlet, "From Indian Trails to Steel Rails," has been published by the Burlington Railroad, describing the route between Kansas City and Lincoln. Brief histories of Parkville, Beverly, Weston, Armour, Langdon, St. Joseph, and Kansas City are included.

January 5 was proclaimed George Washington Carver Day by a proclamation signed by President Harry S. Truman, December 29.

The Missouri State Department of Resources and Development has published the second recreational booklet entitled, "Lake of the Ozarks Country." A collection of pictures in color and sepia, the publication is one of a series designed to inform the public on the recreational, scenic, scientific, and historic points of interest in Missouri. The area was brought about by the construction of a private power dam on the Osage River in 1930, and has developed into a major vacation center.

The Kansas City, Missouri, chapter of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America holds bi-monthly meetings and publishes a bi-weekly newsheet. The organization was founded by Owen C. Cash of Tulsa, Oklahoma, in April, 1938, has grown to a membership of over 10,000, and includes in its membership, President Harry S. Truman. Barbershop singing in the last century was the subject for a weekly historical feature article, "Barber Shop Harmony Was a Favorite Entertainment in Old Time Tonsorial Parlors," compiled by the State Historical Society and published in the newspapers throughout the State during the week of January 20-26, 1946.

An evaluation of the local historical society is given in an article by Harlow Lindley, "The Organization and Work of the Local Historical Society," which appeared in the *West Virginia History*, April, 1946. Dr. Lindley concludes that: "The historical society is both an opportunity and an obligation. Before we can hope to popularize history, we must appreciate it. . . . The interests of the local historical society will be quickened if they are associated in some way with a state historical agency such as a state historical society or a state federation of local historical societies. What better way is there of developing an appreciation of our history. . . . than by giving these future American citizens an appreciation and understanding of of their local and state history? Such a study should put us in a sympathetic relationship to our community, our state and our nation. A great deal of the responsibility for the success

of such a program depends upon those who logically are interested in the organization and work of the local historical society."

A typewritten copy of "The Genealogy of the Dickey and Spence Families" by Homer B. Dickey of Columbia, Missouri, has been presented to the State Historical Society by the author. The families were among the Scotch-Irish immigrants who settled in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, and emigrated to Kentucky after the Revolutionary War.

The First Baptist Church of Independence presented to the Society a copy of the *Centennial History, 1845-1945, The First Baptist Church of Independence, Missouri*, by Mary Pre-witt Mitchell.

An historical feature article appeared in the *Kansas City Times*, May 8, on the background of Central Missouri State Teachers College from its founding in 1871, entitled, "Warrensburg Stages Diamond Jubilee for Teachers College under New Name." The seventy-five-year old school will be known henceforth as Central Missouri State College.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

Album of American History. James Truslow Adams, editor in chief. Volume I: *Colonial Period* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. 411 pp.) Volume II: *1783-1853* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945. 418 pp.) To recreate the actual life of the past, no method is so apt as the use of pictures, either contemporaneous art or photographs of museum items. Having tested the authenticity of the picture, often a difficult problem, and stressing the illustration of some significant aspect of the life of the times, this work brings the delicate fragrance of those old days that is rarely possible with a history consisting solely of text. The purpose of the volumes necessarily limits the text to a slim thread. In the first volume a portrait of Daniel Boone, pictures of wilderness settlements, and conestoga wagons are of interest to Missourians.

Covering as it does the period of the acquisition of the continent, the second volume stresses frontier influences on American life. The manner of living in the Federal period, the War of 1812, westward expansion, transportation, life in the West, manifest destiny, and the gold rush are all well illustrated. Unfortunately, the large scope often results in a miscellany on a single page, as (page 20), fire insurance, ladies' hats, and the abduction of slaves. Missouri data is scattered through the volume: bull and cordelle boats, our first printing press, illustrations by George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, Charles A. Lesueur, Edwin James, J. C. Wild, George Caleb Bingham, Henry Lewis, sketches by emigrants, particularly J. G. Bruff, lithographs from such expeditions as Lewis and Clark, H. R. Schoolcraft, Josiah Gregg, Alexander W. Doniphan (both Kendall and Hughes' histories), John C. Frémont, and then newspaper illustrations, engravings of household and agricultural equipment—all the paraphernalia of living.

Rural Education and Rural life in Missouri, Report of the Cooperative Study of Rural Education and Rural Life, 1945, Supplement to the Ninety-Sixth Report of the Public Schools. (Issued by Roy Scantlin, State Superintendent of Public Schools, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1945. 219 pp.) The technical study staff, under the direction of Dr. A. G. Capps of the University of Missouri School of Education, with the cooperation of the Citizens' Advisory Committee, has prepared this document on rural life and education. The term "rural" refers in this case to the one-or-more room rural elementary school and the districts maintaining high schools that enroll rural students. The survey presents factors affecting and the primary problems concerning the various types of schools, and suggests certain recommendations: consolidation of school districts, expansion of school buildings and equipment, more adequate transportation facilities, libraries, wider curricula, expanded health services, equality of education for Negro students, and adult education. This is but the latest in the various surveys of the Missouri public school system. Others include the Russell Sage Foundation Report in 1912 on the nation; the Carnegie Foundation Report in 1914, including an examination

of teachers' training institutions, and a census of state teachers and their education, published in 1920; the survey of rural schools by State Superintendent of Schools Uel W. Lamkin, directed by Dr. A. G. Capps and published in 1918, revealing inequalities of educational opportunities for rural areas; the survey of 1924, also under Dr. Capps, which investigated school support, county school administrators and supervisors, the certification of teachers, and educational needs; and the survey by a commission appointed by Governor Henry S. Caulfield made in 1929.

Names on the Land. A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States. By George R. Stewart. (New York: Random House, 1945. 415 pp.) Although not a tabulation of place names in America, the volume manages in a short space to give a surprisingly large number and their origins along with the history of place-naming itself. As is to be expected, much of the nation's history is revealed, whether it is the Hudson River, reflecting the imperial conflict in the seventeenth century, or Kingdom City in Missouri, following the Kingdom of Callaway incident in the Civil War. The work traces methods of naming from the period of the Indians with their "stream-where-the-panther-was-killed," through the French and Spanish explorers in the West, to the over-all influence of the English tongue on the land. Different sections of the country reveal divergencies: a brook in New England is a branch in Virginia, a creek in the West; a notch or gap in the Alleghenies is a pass in the Rockies. The classic craze of the ante-bellum period is reflected in the Athens, Romes, and Troys; western towns repeat eastern names; the Philadelphia rectangular system for street naming is widely copied, even on the hilly towns of the prairies; the southern Scott-novel-reading public names plantations with literary self-consciousness, while the Cracker has left Harpe's Head Road, carrying overtones of murder; after the Civil War the strengthening of the national government is even here shown as Congress takes over naming states, and places and natural features are designated by national official bodies. For Missouri, the author gives the meaning as "big water" or "big

canoes," although Le Sueur stated around 1700 that he believed it to mean "people of the canoes" or "wooden canoes." Then there is the tale of John Kirkpatrick who lost confidence in the Missouri town which he had founded in 1878; a wheat town, it became Odessa, carrying images of Russian villages amid fields of spring wheat. There are also the stories of names that have no significance: the newly appointed postmaster who turned to a map of South America, hunted blindly, and emerged with Callao, Missouri.

Mark Twain, Business Man. Edited by Samuel Charles Webster. (An Atlantic Monthly Press Book; Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1946. 409 pp.) To clear his father, Charles Webster, head of Twain's publishing house, from some of the charges made by Clemens in his old age, the editor has collected about 500 letters of Clemens to various members of his family, particularly to Webster in regard to their business interests. Considering the innumerable personal requests, it is amazing that Webster had time to run, let alone satisfactorily, the publishing business. Most of the letters are filled with that buoyancy of spirit, reflecting Twain's energy, that would not be suppressed. According to the editor, the publishing house was not the cause for the great financial losses, but instead furnished the necessary capital for the innumerable plans of Twain for great wealth—the Kaolatype, a baby clamp, and above all the typesetter, costing between \$2,000 and \$3,000 a month. Besides the genealogy of the immediate Clemens family, he includes material compiled from the reminiscences of his mother, who was reared by Twain's mother, and of the editor himself, who grew up in the same house with Twain's sister Pamela.

The Jesuits in Old Oregon: A Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1940. By William N. Bishchoff. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1945. 258 pp.) Neither a history of the Pacific Northwest nor a history of the Church in that area, this study groups the material on the various missions by a geographical basis and treats each topic separately. Following the arrival of the first priests, Blanchet and Demers,

St. Louis became an outpost for the great jump to the Far West. Flathead messengers came in the thirties to the city, begging for the black gowns, and Bishop Joseph Rosati and Father Peter Verhaegen, both of Missouri, sought for volunteers in the state and selected Father Pierre De Smet for reconnoitering the new mission of the mountains. The missions discussed include those in Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, South Dakota, Oregon, and Alaska. The volume is illustrated with sketch maps, contains extensive footnotes relegated to the back of the volume, presumably for readability by the lay reader, and a biographical appendix of the missionaries. Had the conclusion been expanded to relate the various separate accounts into a general résumé of Catholic labors in the area by comparing problems and policies of each section, the work would have been of increased value.

Trail to California, The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly. Edited with an introduction by David Morris Potter. (Yale Historical Publications: Manuscripts and Edited Texts, Volume XX. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1945. 266 pp.) Fortunately for historians, many a tired and bedraggled emigrant of the Gold Rush took time out at the end of a wearying day to jot down the stages of the journey, although a large proportion of the prairie voyagers lost interest as their fatigue increased. The journal here presented, one of the William Robertson Coe Collection of Western Americana in the Yale University Library, is added to the total number, with the excuse for its publication that it is both interesting and detailed in information on the trail. To the diary, begun by Geiger in St. Joseph and continued by Bryarly from the North Platte River, the editor has added the constitution of the Charleston, Virginia, Mining Company, the particularly well organized group with which the two were travelling, a roster of the company members, Geiger's diary from Virginia to St. Joseph, and tables showing the travel schedule of various emigrants of 1849 by way of the South Pass. As he says, the constitutions for such groups have rarely lasted; however, two in the manuscript collections of the State Historical Society were published in the *Missouri Historical*

Review, January, 1945, pp. 149-150. The so-called glamour of the Gold Rush has been less emphasized in this edition, and other factors are stressed: the rigid physical necessities, the continuing agricultural characteristics carried over to life on the trail, the relative worth of oxen and mules, the unforeseen dangers that outweighed the rather relative safety from Indian raids, except for robbery, and the problems involved in the amount and kinds of property carried for the trip. A careful comparison of the company is made with thirty-four other travelers who also followed the same trail that year.

General George Crook, His Autobiography. By Martin F. Schmitt. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. 326 pp.) Until the editor discovered the autobiography in 1942 in the files of the Army War College in Washington, it had been an unknown document, even to his biographer, John G. Bourke. Written between 1885 and 1890, it covers the period from 1852, when Crook graduated from West Point, until June 18, 1876, the day after the battle of the Rosebud. An account of the extremes of his life has been added by the editor. During the fifties Crook served in California and on the Rogue River in Oregon, protecting the settlers against Indian raids. In the Civil War he participated in many battles including the campaigns of Chicamauga, those of Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah, and the final battles of the war. He is best known, however, for his understanding of the Indian: he brought to an end the Indian war on the coast, the war with the Apaches in 1871, the Sioux war in 1876 (as commander of the Department of the Platte), and the Geronimo campaigns, 1882-1886. The autobiography is interesting, well-written with a free colorful style, frank and generous. The work is illustrated primarily with portraits, but the maps of posts, military divisions, and trails, and the endpapers of the Department of the West are excellent.

Barington. By Edward Tatum Wallace. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945. 311 pp.) Barington, an Ozark village in the early part of the century, is recreated by a series of seventy-four anecdotes centering about Bart Mac-

Kenzie, the owner of the local hardware store, and his young son, Debs. While the anecdotal arrangement is rather monotonous, the community life filters through, clearly and with an authentic ring, unlike many semi-autobiographical works. The arrival of the John Deere buggies, equipped with laprobe and whip, the visiting drummers, and the long rambling conversations in the store present with much humor and leisure an era of a generation ago.

Mrs. Palmer's Honey. By Fannie Cook. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1946. 280 pp.) For the Negroes in the Ville, a city within St. Louis, the war came as a pulse quickener. With the new wages, more food, new clothes, and a bit of new furniture whetted the appetite, for more, while all the old problems remained unsolved—cramped space, the restrictions of race, and the burdens that poverty carries. The characters include various types and classes: the overburdened mother not far removed from the cotton field, puzzled by city life; the daughter, bred to patience and subservience by life as a maid; the violent "Snake," comprehending only the knife as a solution of racial antipathies; the son growing into manhood, hunting for understanding; the labor movement, particularly the CIO and its promises of equality before the lathe; the Negro professional classes benefitting from segregation; the rich Negro resenting the treatment given the poor or shiftless; the Negro woman wishing to enjoy the freedom of the whites by her fair skin. Here is suggested the use of labor unions as one method of marshalling Negro public opinion and self-respect.

Santa Fe: The Railroad That Built an Empire. By James Marshall. (New York: Random House, 1945. 465 pp.) Railroad enthusiasts will welcome another volume of the many works on the subject now appearing. Written in a breezy style, the history of the road is presented from its beginning at Topeka, Kansas, in October, 1868, as Cyrus K. Holliday foresaw his railroad stretching to the Pacific Coast. Chapters on Fred Harvey, the opening of the Indian Territory, Death Valley Scotty, and life of passengers and crews add to

the necessary data on the building and management of the road. There are included a list of Santa Fe town names and their origins, an appendix of railroad slang, and a list of the more important passenger trains operating early in 1945. Some of his slang definitions are unlike those meanings used elsewhere; as, for example, he defines "deadheading" as "not doing one's work, working without a Union card," when it means elsewhere, travelling by pass or without payment, or the return by a crewmember (as a passenger) to the beginning of his line after his run.

Slow Train to Yesterday, A Last Glance at the Local. By Archie Robertson. Illustrated by F. Strobel. (Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. 189 pp.) For readers who remember the melancholy whistle of the train at six, this is a sentimental evocation of the local, the jerk-water railroad towns and hotels, trolleys, and much of the atmosphere of the turn of the century. The book is a valuable guidebook for those who may want to meander along some of the old roads and includes a list of the short-line railroads offering passenger service in June, 1943. For Missouri are listed the Cassville and Exeter, the Beaver, Meade and Englewood, and the Rock Port, Langdon and Northern. The widespread organizations of railroad fans are given mention at length.

The Story of Kansas City. Volume II: *The City Beautiful*, Volume III: *The City at Work*. By Emma Serl, Alice Lanterman, and Virginia Sheaff. (Kansas City, Missouri: Board of Education, 1945. Vol. II: 175 pp.; Vol. III: 236 pp.) Concluding the three-volume series on a history of Kansas City for the elementary schools, the two volumes continue the contemporaneous note on the city as seen through the eyes of children. Both are well illustrated by photographs and drawings of students in the Kansas City high schools. If the second volume errs, it does so only in noting the beautiful aspects of the city, without mentioning other physical characteristics that are less attractive but still present. The third

volume covers in a general way the various most important occupations and industries, making a series both interesting and of value to its small readers.

Lore and Lure of the Upper Mississippi River. By Frank J. Fugina. (Winona, Minnesota: published by the author, 1945. 311 pp.) The author, one of the very few old river captains left on the Upper Mississippi, has compiled a collection of reminiscences of his years on the river. More than one hundred illustrations of steamboats and later varieties are included, besides photographs of the locks and dams of the upper river. He lists incompletely, as he remembers, those boats which have plied the river since 1875, points of interest along the river, cities and villages from Minneapolis to St. Louis, and river mileages.

State of Missouri Official Manual for Years, 1945-1946. (Compiled and Published by Wilson Bell, Secretary of State, 1183 pp.) The latest number of this series of official manuals, which have been published since 1878, continues the high standard of its predecessors. There are listed, as is customary, the members of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, the numerous educational, eleemosynary, and penal institutions, the various state boards and commissions, and material concerning national and local government. In addition, there has been newly included a list of the mayors of Missouri towns. Besides historical data concerning the constitutional conventions of Missouri, there is reprinted the Constitution of the State, as it was adopted in 1945. A special section is devoted to President Harry S. Truman, as the first president from Missouri. The division, containing general information concerning Missouri, includes data on the capitol, executive mansion, state office building, the county hospitals, the battleship "Missouri," and army posts in the State. Six pages of territorial maps, taken from the originals in the library of the State Historical Society, and both a list of some notable dates in Missouri history, 1673-1945, and an index to historical features in the *Missouri Official Manuals, 1879-1944*, were compiled by the staff of the Society.

OBITUARIES

LEWIS WARRINGTON BALDWIN: Born in Waterbury, Arundel County, Md., Feb. 26, 1875; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 14, 1946. Chief executive officer and corporate president of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company since 1923, he had been an active railroad worker for fifty years. A graduate of St. John's College and Lehigh University, he was in the service of the Illinois Central and its subsidiaries for twenty-seven years. During World War I he was assistant and regional director of the Allegheny and Southern regions of the United States Railroad Administration. In 1927 he directed railway forces in rescue and farm rehabilitation work following the Mississippi-Louisiana-Arkansas rivers floods, and in 1930 he was chairman of the Missouri Drouth Relief Committee. In 1938 he received an honorary degree of doctor of engineering from Lehigh University. He had been a member of the State Historical Society, former president of the St. Louis Symphony Society, a national officer of the Boy Scouts, and former president of the American Railway Engineering Association.

A. J. CAYWOOD: Born in Wayne County, Mich., Aug. 8, 1865; died in Brookfield, Mo., Feb. 27, 1946. A life editorial member of the State Historical Society, he had been a former editor of the *Laclede Blade*. At seventeen he became apprentice on the *Laclede Laconic*, worked on the *Norborne Leader* and the *Brookfield Argus*. He purchased the *Laclede Blade* in 1890 and published it until his retirement in June 1945.

MRS. CARRIE ROGERS CLARK: Born in Ravanna, Mo., in 1868; died in Trenton, Mo., April 5, 1946. Educated in Missouri and Kansas schools and the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, she was married in 1892 to Frank Louis Clark, who died the following year. She became publisher of the *Trenton Republican-Times* after the death of her father in 1924. Her death marks the end of seventy-six years of ownership of the paper by immediate members of the family. It was purchased by her father in 1869, known then as the *Grand River News*. She was a member of the State Historical Society.

WALTER E. DANDY: Born in Sedalia, Mo., April 6, 1886; died in Baltimore, Md.; April 19, 1946. A noted brain surgeon, he received an A.B. degree from the University of Missouri in 1907, an M.D. degree in 1910 and an A.M. degree in 1911, both from Johns Hopkins University, and an LL.D. from Missouri in 1928. His career in neurological surgery began in 1919 as associate at Johns Hopkins where he became professor of clinical surgery in 1927, adjunct professor in 1931, and later professor of neurological surgery. Among his contributions to medicine were his studies on hydrocephalus in 1913, brain and spinal cord surgery in 1918, trifacial neuralgia in 1925, glosso-pharyngeal neuralgia in 1927, Meniere's disease in 1928, sciatica in 1937, and other operational procedures in neurological surgery. He was the author of textbooks, medical treatises, and numerous articles in surgical and neurological journals.

WILLIAM WADDELL DUKE: Born in Lexington, Mo., died in Kansas City, Mo., April 10, 1946. A famous medical pioneer in allergy research, he received a Ph.B. degree from Yale University in 1904, an M.D. degree from Johns Hopkins University in 1908, and studied at the University of Vienna and the University of Berlin. He began medical practice in Kansas City in 1912, was a professor of experimental medicine at the University of Kansas School of Medicine, 1914-1918, and served as captain overseas with the American Red Cross during World War I. He was awarded the silver medal by the American Medical Association in 1924 for research in allergy, and the gold medal of the Mid-West Forum on Allergy in 1941. One-time president of the Association of the Study of Allergy, he discovered heat, cold, and effort sensitiveness and physical allergy.

JOHN J. ENDRES: Born in Perry County, Mo., July 16, 1880; died in Perry County, Mo., April 23, 1946. State representative from Perry County at the time of his death, he was serving his fourth term in the legislature, having been elected for the terms, 1928-1929, 1940-1946. He had served as sheriff of his county, 1915-1919, 1923-1927.

JOHN SEBREE FARRINGTON: Born near Fayette, Mo., Feb. 16, 1875; died in Springfield, Mo., Feb. 22, 1946. Former presiding judge of the Springfield Court of Appeals, he attended Central College at Fayette, the University of Missouri, and Washington University. Admitted to the bar in 1896, he was judge of the court from 1912 until 1924 when he retired to practice law. He had been chairman of the executive committee of the Greene County Central Democratic Committee, and a member of the State Historical Society since 1937.

JOHN CARDINAL GLENNON: Born in Kinnegad, County Westmeath, Ireland, June 14, 1862; died in Dublin, Ireland, Mar. 9, 1946. The first cardinal to be appointed by the papal see west of the Mississippi, he was outstanding both in civic life in St. Louis and in national Catholic circles. Sent from Ireland to America for mission work, he was ordained in Kansas City, December 20, 1884. He served there in parish posts, as vicar general, and from June, 1896, to April, 1903, as coadjutor bishop of Kansas City. He was called to St. Louis in that office and became archbishop in October of that year. Due to his efforts, the cornerstone of the St. Louis Cathedral was laid in 1908, the edifice opened in 1914, and dedicated in 1926. He also planned the building of Kenrick Seminary and the Theological Preparatory School. He was formally invested as cardinal, February 21, 1946, and received the Irish church, St. Clement's in Rome, as his titular one. The period of his administration of the archdiocese covering the southeastern quarter of Missouri was marked by great extensions of religious, educational, and charitable work of the church. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

IRA B. HYDE, JR.: Born in Princeton, Mo., Oct. 12, 1893; died in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 23, 1946. A Republican member of the State House of Representatives from Mercer County, he was a member of a politically prominent Missouri family. A graduate from the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 1917, he served in the French and American

armies during World War I. After reporting for the *Trenton Republican-Times* and the *Kansas City Star*, he worked on the *Portland Oregonian* until 1925 and published the *St. Helens, Oregon, Mist* for several years. Having served with the Oregon Farm Credit Administration, he returned to Missouri in 1938 and purchased the *Princeton Telegraph*, which he published until 1944 when he became one of the publishers of the *Grundy County Gazette*. He was elected to the legislature in 1944. He was a member of the State Historical Society.

NEFF NELSON McCLEARY: Born at Medicine Lodge, Kans., June 11, 1888; died in New Orleans, La., Mar. 9, 1946. A Kansas City artist acclaimed in Europe, he studied medicine in Kansas City University and Paris, and practiced medicine in Missouri and Arkansas. While in Paris he also studied art and in 1929 became an artist by profession. A lecturer at the Louvre, he was awarded the palms of *officer de l'Academie* by the French government in 1932 and the title of *cavaliere* by the Italian king, elected a fellow of the Academy of Rome and a member of the *Academie di St. Lucas*. His works have hung in exhibitions in Paris and the Royal Institute of London. He served on the art staff of the *Kansas City Star* for two years and lectured in the city in 1930, 1934, 1936, and 1941.

WILLIAM A. RAUPP: Born in Sandusky, Ohio, November 17, 1868; died in Pierce City, Mo., May 4, 1946. Rising from the ranks to brigadier general, he enlisted in 1886 as a drummer boy, joined the old Fifth Missouri Infantry, and was with the organization when it disbanded. Enlisting in the Second Missouri Infantry, he had advanced by 1906 to the rank of colonel and commanding officer of the Second Missouri (Houn' Dog) Regiment. He had served as a captain in the Spanish American War and on the Mexican border in 1916. He became brigadier general in 1921, serving as commanding general, 1921-1932, and adjutant general of the Missouri National Guard, 1921-1925. He had been mayor of Pierce City for two terms.

MAZYCK P. RAVENEL: Born in Pendleton, S. C., in 1861; died in Columbia, Mo., Jan. 14, 1946. Educated in Charleston schools, he received an M.D. degree from the State College of South Carolina in 1884, studied at the University of Pennsylvania, the Pasteur Institute, Paris, and in Italy. After teaching at the University of Wisconsin, he came to the University of Missouri in 1924. With the exception of his service as lieutenant colonel in the Army Medical Corps during World War I, he taught until his retirement in 1932. He was appointed professor emeritus of medical bacteriology in 1936, and returned to teach, 1942-1946. The author of *A Half Century of Public Health* and numerous bacteriological articles, he was active in many medical associations and had edited the *American Journal of Public Health*.

JOHN N. SCHNUCK: Born in Cooper County, Mo., April 11, 1874; died in Boonville, Mo., Feb. 20, 1946. A retired farmer, he had been elected Cooper County representative to the State legislature for the fifty-first and fifty-second general assemblies, serving from 1921 to 1925.

FREDERICK MADISON SMITH: Born in Plano, Ill., Jan. 21, 1874; died in Independence, Mo., Mar. 20, 1946. Grandson of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Latter Day Saints Church, and president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, he had led the latter group for thirty-one years. He attended the University of Iowa and received an M.A. degree in 1911 from the University of Kansas and a Ph. D. degree from Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1915. He was professor of mathematics, Grace-land College, Lamoni, Iowa, 1899-1900, editor of various church newspapers, magazines, and journals from 1900 until his death, and the author of many monographs and books. He became a first councillor in 1902 and, following the death of his father, president of the reorganized church. He had been a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1934 and a trustee since 1942.

JOSEPH H. ZUMBALEN: Born in St. Louis, Mo., July 4, 1861; died in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 6, 1945. After graduating from the St. Louis Law School in 1887, he practiced law until 1916 upon his appointment as professor of law at Washington University. Appointed secretary and treasurer of Washington Corporation in 1926, he was also a member of the federal and state bars, had been admitted to practice in the United States Supreme Court in 1910, and appointed a member of the St. Louis Law Library Board, 1904-1911, and a Missouri delegate to the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, 1924-1928. In May 1928 he became professor emeritus of law. He had been a member of the State Historical Society since 1919.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

THE GLORIOUS FOURTH IN 1823

From the *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), July 1, 1823.

Arrangements for the Celebration.

On the 4th of July, at *reveille*, the *Franklin Guards*, under the command of Capt. *H. R. Gamble*, will fire a national salute.

Precisely at 11 o'clock, a procession of the citizens, in association with the *Franklin Guards*, will proceed from the Public Square to a grave near town, where the Throne of Grace will be addressed by the *Rev. Justinian Williams*—the Declaration of Independence read by *Jonathan Smith Findlay, Esq.*; and an Oration will be delivered by *William James Redd, Esq.*

The procession will then return to the Public Square and be dismissed.

A *Dinner*, prepared by Mrs. Peebles, will be on the table at 2 o'clock—It will be spread in an arbour adjoining the residence of Mrs. P.

The Toasts furnished by a committee, will be accompanied with suitable airs by a band of music, and with discharges of artillery.

It is understood the festivities of the day will conclude with a *Ball*, to be given at Mr. Shaw's.

—AND IN 1872

From the *Peoples Tribune* (Jefferson City), July 10, 1872.

Not for many years has the glorious Fourth been so well and so rationally kept in this region, as on the anniversary just passed. Nearly everybody celebrated it, and only pleasant recollections of the day are left. Is not the fact auspicious of the good times dawning on us here, and on all the people of this country? The day was ushered in by a national salute fired by the Siegel battery. They acted with the precision and steadiness of veterans, showing that a true conception of soldierly duties, and a just pride in their proper discharge, actuated them. Of course Capt. Charlie Thurber was in command; and what he don't know as an officer about managing big guns and making them talk efficiently, can't be learned in these parts.

The picnic at Altgibber's for the benefit of the Catholic orphans was well attended, and was an unusually pleasant affair.

The gathering at St. Thomas was also largely attended, and everything passed off most enjoyably.

Quite a party assembled at Andrew Gundelfinger's fine grounds, and rarely enjoyed themselves.

But the great event of the day was the grand barbecue given by the enterprising people of the little city across the river, in honor not only of the glorious Fourth, but of the completion of the railroad. It was given in the handsome grove of Hon. C. W. Samuel, just back of town, and adjoining the railroad. Off, at one side were the long pits where the sheep, hogs, beeves, etc. were barbecued, Capt. Joe Kneisely being the presiding genius of this portion of the entertainment, and winning universal plaudits for the admirable manner in which he achieved success. Convenient to the pits were the dining tables; and not far from them a large arbor with seats ranged all round for spectators, and a large open space in the centre for those who wished to trip on the light fantastic toe. Here there was dancing constantly going on, the music being furnished by a band under the direction of W. F. Priest, from Fulton.

The attendance was very large, probably between two thousand and twenty-five hundred. Five hundred came up from Fulton on cars, some of which were marked Chicago and St. Louis, and others, St. Louis, Jacksonville, and Chicago. . . .

The most perfect order was kept; every body was in good humor; and all left well satisfied with the day's enjoyment, and the hospitality of the Cedar City people.

The Fulton band crossed over to this city, after the adjournment of the barbecue, and at night serenaded the Governor.

SHOWING US HIS HEELS!

From the *Lexington Expositor*, reprinted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, (Columbia), June 5, 1857.

Quick Trip from St. Joseph to Council Bluffs—We learn from the second clerk of the Steamer Silver Heels, Mr. G. T. Tillery, that this excellent boat left St. Joseph on Monday, the 18th inst., at three in the evening, discharging fifty tons of way freight, landing passengers at various points on the river, losing three hours on Sonora Bar, and arriving at Council Bluffs on Tuesday, the 19th inst., at four o'clock. This is the quickest time ever made. Time out from St. Joseph to Council Bluffs thirty-seven hours.

CURED OF THE TEXAS FEVER

From the *Harrisonville Democrat*, reprinted in the *Liberty Tribune*, August 24, 1860.

Emigrants.—Many of our citizens will doubtless recollect the large train of emigrants from Clay [county] which passed through this city about a year since *en route* for Texas. The train consisted of some fifteen wagons, two hacks, and several negroes. On last Thursday they were again in our city wending their way to old Clay, having got their "satisfy" of Texas in a few months—they say they are now willing to live in Missouri, as

experience has taught them that it is the best place after all—their report of Texas is anything but flattering. Thus it is with hundreds of Missourians, who become dissatisfied, and move off in the hope of finding a better country—a few months, or years at farthest, is sufficient to convince them of their folly.

FORBIDDEN SWEETS

From the *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), June 10, 1859.

David R. Atchison . . . still enjoys the sweets of private life on his plantation in Clinton county, Mo. During a recent revival of religion in that section, he seemed seriously inclined; and some of his relatives, who are zealous and consistent Methodists, really had hopes of his conversion. But just then some friend sent him a barrel of his favorite old rye whiskey, he returned to his idol, and from that day he has been the same old Dave Atchison as of yore.

WATER WITCH WANTED

From the *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), August 5, 1822.

On the *Third Monday* (the 16th of September) . . . well digging . . . will be let by the Trustees of Columbia, to the lowest bidder, the Digging and Walling of a *Public Well* in the Town of Columbia, to be completed by the first of April, 1823.—The wall must be strongly walled with stone, having a clear diameter equal to that of the Public Well now in use on the Market Square in said Town.

The undertaker must furnish a Well with a good vein, affording, in a reasonable point of view, a plenty of water; or he will not be paid for his labour.

THE RELUCTANT PIONEER

From the *Liberty Tribune*, August 24, 1860.

The *Galena Courier* contains a letter from a lady at the gold district, which certainly is not very flattering. It is as follows:

Nevada City, July 23, 1860.

Dear Father: We left St. Joseph the 8th of May, arrived at Denver City the 13th of June, left Denver the 24th [14?], and arrived at Nevada [City] the 27th. We had pleasant weather all the way, yet it was a long and tiresome journey. It will be three months the 8th of August since I have been in a house or sat in a chair.—I am now sitting on the ground, with a board for a table, and that on my lap.—If I had known what a journey it was to come out here, I would never have seen the Rocky Mountains. It is too hard for any woman to come here. Over one

hundred women started back to the States last week. My advice to all women is that they had better go to the Poor House than come here. I have not spoken to a woman since I came to the mountains. I have had to sleep in my wagon ever since I left St. Joseph. I do not know what dry clothing is. I sleep in a wet bed, and wear damp clothing all the time.

There are a great many down with the mountain fever, which is very dangerous.

There is a great stampede here now. Everybody is going home. There is hardly any money in the country. As for gold, I have seen some, but it is not plenty yet. Next year it will be better than this for making money here.

I have not been two yards from my tent since I came here. It is an awful hard life here, and I have got enough of Pike's Peak. A man or a woman, to live here, has to work like "fits," and then if they do not get sick and die, they are well off.

BEWARE OF THE LONGHORN

From the *St. Joseph Gazette*, reprinted in the *Weekly Missouri Statesman*, September 16, 1859.

Texas Fever.—Cattle Dying. We learn with regret that this terrible malady has appeared in this county, near Rock House Prairie [*sic*], and is sweeping off the cattle of that neighborhood by scores. We hear that on the farm where it has manifested itself it has been attended with more than the usual fatality. The disease is said to have originated from the passing of a drove of Texas cattle through that section. If such results are liable to follow from the introduction of these southern cattle into our State, why, the Legislature should take steps to prevent it.

THOSE LONG-SUFFERING MISSOURI RIVER BOATMEN

From the *Missouri Intelligencer* (Franklin), December 17, 1822.

The boat owned by Mr. Lewis Scott, of this county, laden with pork, etc., for New-Orleans, after being detained some time at the Moniteau on account of ice, proceeded thence, but has grounded, we learn, near Cote-sandsessein. It is probable, however, she will be got off again.

CALL TO ARMS ON THE BORDER

From the *Liberty Tribune*, February 16, 1855.

Letter from Kansas

Baptist Mission, K. T.
February 10, 1855

Mr. Editor—As sometime has elapsed since I wrote to you, perhaps a few remarks in regard to the existing state of things in our Territory may not be uninteresting. Since the commencement of winter, of course all emigration to the Territory has been suspended, but the weather has not been sufficiently cold to abate the ardor or enterprise of the settlers. Steam saw-mills are in progress of erection in various parts of the country. . . .

We are at present living here in a state of almost semi-civilization—without law or order—everything in chaos. . . . All the deleterious effects of unrestrained and unbridled passions prevail here—and in many instances . . . overt acts of violence and blood-shed. . . .

I do not wish to impugn the motives of our Executive, or impeach him of dereliction of duty, but the complaints against him are deep and loud. . . . Why a Territorial Legislature has not been convened before this he has, doubtless, satisfactory reasons. . . . If the election is postponed to a much later period the abolition leaders in the East will have an opportunity of pouring their myrmidons into the Territory in time to vote.

. . . The crisis is at hand. Let Missourians be awake to their duty and their interest. Let every one who designs to make Kansas his future home, come here forthwith and contribute his efforts to counteract the nefarious purposes of those fanatics who are attempting to trample on the rights of their fellowmen, and the laws of the country. Let them be here in time to arrest the tide of pauperism, vice, and depravity, which threatens to deluge this fair Eden of Prairies. Better that Missouri should be partially depopulated for the next ten years, than that the blight and mill-dew of Abolitionism should settle on the hills and valleys of Kansas. . . . Let every one, who can, come and enlist in this war against the enemies of your State, who are endeavoring to overthrow your institutions, clog the wheels of your enterprise, and plunder your property. You will find here a country peculiarly adapted to slave labor, and while you are defending your rights and principles in one way, you may be promoting your interests in another.

The Abolitionists were as much mortified at the result of the late Congressional election, as the pro-slavery men were elated—but the ensuing election will be of far more importance, as the first Legislature will decide whether this shall be a free or slave territory. . . .

Lawrence is the resort for about four hundred Abolitionists. . . . These men will not be inactive during the approaching campaign. . . . They are now burnishing their weapons and making preparations for a spirited contest. They have three papers issued on this side of the river,

strenuous and rabid in vindication of the wild, fanatical crusade in which they are engaged, and malignant and bitter in opposing the rights and principles of the pro-slavery party. Some of their chief agitators in the East . . . are hurling their missils from a distance, in the shape of inflammatory pamphlets. The sole object of these scurrilous tracts and circulars is to promulgate anti-slavery fanaticism, falsify truth and villify Missourians. . . .

Missourians cannot be ignorant of how much they have at stake in the question which will be decided by the first Territorial Legislature. Abolitionists, here publicly boast, that they have often induced and aided slaves to escape from their lawful owners, and that they feel it their holy duty to do so again whenever an opportunity is offered. . . .

Abolitionism . . . is again in the arena . . . Let the omnipotent decree go forth from the *ballot box*, that it shall die—*die* on these very prairies it came to ravage—and . . . startle the arch-fiends of fanaticism, who . . . are concerting the ruin and destruction of the slave holder.

Yours, &c.,

Kaw.

WHO IS HE?

From the *Kansas City Times*, January 23, 1946.

Cartoonists are tearing their hair to evolve a caricature of Truman. . . . It must be galling to a cartoonist to go on day after day drawing the President of the United States, with little letters across his vest or coat-tails labeling him as "Mr. Truman" or "The President."

Mr. Truman is what we in Missouri like to think of as a nice-looking sort, trim in figure, neat and regular in features, with a certain sharpness of nose and chin to add character. But these everyday good looks of his are what makes him irritating and tantalizing to the cartoonist. . . . Every new figure in the public eye has to go through a shakedown period in which the cartoonists grope for the formula. . . .

In Mr. Truman's case, however, the cartoonists are still fumbling for the right combination. Besides having no outstanding physical characteristics, he is short on "props." . . . About all that Mr. Truman has to offer . . . are a felt hat (not particularly unusual), eyeglasses (not exclusive), and a fondness for bow ties (shared with Sinatra and thousands of others). The result is that after many months in office, he is still in the humiliating position of having to wear a label whenever he makes a cartoon appearance.

The treatment he is receiving is equaled in the history of American political caricature by that accorded only one other man. And he was a Missourian, too—B. Gratz Brown, onetime governor of the state. When Horace Greeley ran against President Grant, who was seeking re-election in 1872, Brown was a candidate for vice-president as the Tribune editor's running mate. Thomas Nast, America's first great political cartoonist,

was then at the peak of his power and militant in the cause of his idol, General Grant.

He had no idea what Brown looked like—had never seen him and could not find a picture of him. He solved the problem by attaching to Greeley's coattail a tag reading "Gratz Brown." Throughout the campaign the Missourian never appeared in a Nast Cartoon except as a piece of paper dangling from that famous white coat of Greeley's.

Mr. Truman is not being treated so rudely, but some of the pictures don't look much more like him than that tag resembled the unfortunate Gratz Brown. . . . About half the cartoonists have just given up. They produce an "average man" with glasses and perhaps a bow tie, label him as Mr. T. and call it a day. This may be called the Escapist or To-Heck-With-It school. Another group, the Classical school, is confining itself, as noted above, to straight portraits, which may look like the President, but are posed and stiff, without much life. The Never Say Die school, at the same time, is working hard to produce a Truman caricature which will look like him and be readily accepted by the public. It is this group, much as it should be admired for courage and perseverance, which is having the most trouble. . . . With their pens they extend the presidential proboscis, give it hooks and twists which could only come from a lifetime in the ring. This leads to some interesting pictures, but none of them is Truman. . . .

For most cartoonists, however, President Truman is going to be forced to adopt some identifying peculiarity of costume or habit—wearing a fez. for example, or carrying a cane.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL DATA IN MAGAZINES

- American Historical Review*, January, 1946: "The American Frontier—Frontier of What?" by Carlton J. H. Hayes.
- Chronicles of Oklahoma*, winter, 1945-1946: "Missouri and the Southwest," by Floyd C. Shoemaker.
- Colliers*, March 9, 1946: "Unbowed Head [Missouri Politics and Government]," by Kyle Crichton.
- Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, April, 1946: "An Adventure of Dr. Walther in 1856, from the Journal of the Reverend Hugo Hanser," translated by Karl Kretzmann.
- Hobbies*, February, 1946: "Almost Forgotten Notes of Missouri," by F. W. Osborn and Floyd C. Shoemaker.
- Indiana Magazine of History*, March, 1946: "The American Backwoodsman in Popular Portraiture," by Thomas D. Clark.
- Journal of Southern History*, February, 1946: "Democracy in the Old South," by Fletcher M. Green.

Louisiana Historical Quarterly, January, 1946: "Visits of Josiah Gregg to Louisiana, 1841-1847," by Howard T. Dimick.

Mid-America, January, 1946: "The Discovery of the Mississippi, Secondary Sources," by Jean Delanglez.

National Municipal Review, January, 1946: "Redistricting Completed for Missouri Senate," by William L. Bradshaw.

Pacific Northwest Quarterly, January, 1946: "Letters of Hezekiah Johnson, 1838-1849," edited by J. Orin Oliphant.

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MIDNIGHT RACE ON THE MISSISSIPPI. January 1946 cover design, from a colored lithograph in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

GENERAL LYON'S CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK. April 1946 cover design, from an engraving by F. O. C. Darley.

THE OVERLAND MAIL—START FROM THE EASTERN SIDE. July 1946 cover design, from an illustration in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 23, 1858.

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